necticut To Honor an Outstanding American."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONNECTICUT TO HONOR AN OUTSTANDING AMERICAN

Connecticut will honor Herbert Hoover, the 31st President of the United States, on his 90th birthday Monday. In proclaiming the day Governor Dempsey set aside party lines, as Mr. Hoover did in his 4 years in the White House and in more than a score of other years in other public service.

Few men in history have been the victim of such a set of adverse circumstances as those which crashed down upon Mr. Hoover after he assumed the Presidency in 1928. The situations which were soon to coagulate to form the depression had been building up for years. He had the misfortune to be President when the stock market collapsed and the worst economic plight in modern history engulfed the Nation and the world. While it was his misfortune, history now shows that it was the country's good fortune to have a man of Mr. Hoover's ability and stability in office during such a crisis.

During the depression Mr. Hoover was scorned and ridiculed. He was blamed, condemned. He took every undeserved blow. In such a financial calamity as the depression, the part in it of any one man cannot be accurately gaged at the time. Time must be given to reflect, to appraise. Mr. Hoover lived long enough to have historians and economists remove the yoke of responsibility placed around his neck, see his policies commended and not condemned.

When he ran for reelection in 1932 the depression was still on. He had to fight the onus it so erroneously put upon him. He had to battle mounting resentment to the Prohibition Act. He also had such a formidable opponent as Franklin D. Roosevelt. The electorate rejected Mr. Hoover.

As a former President Mr. Hoover has won recognition and respect denied him while he was our Chief Executive. When he marks his 90th birthday on Monday the people of Connecticut and the other 49 States will join in extending congratulations. Herbert Hoover is one of our finest Americans and humanitarians.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, it is also singularly appropriate that on Herbert Hoover's 90th birthday there should appear in the Nation's bookstores a fascinating, panoramic book detailing the colorful life and deeds of this unforgettable humanitarian, under the title "Herbert Hoover: A Biography," by Eugene Lyons. It is a very human, moving document that reads like an absorbing novel.

An editorialized review of it by Mr. A. N. Spanel, the chairman-founder of International Latex Corp., appeared in paid space in the Washington Post on August 10, 1964. It was presented in the public interest, and a very worthy public service it is indeed.

I, therefore, ask unanimous consent that excerpts from the editorial-review by Mr. Spanel, including excerpts from Mr. Lyon's book, be printed in the body of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO HERBERT HOOVER

(By A. N. Spanel, founder-chairman, International Latex Corp.)

On August 10, the 31st President of the United States, Herbert Hoover, reaches the venerable age of 90. He has lived longer than any American President except John Adams, who died at 91. That this great American has survived so long is a matter of profound satisfaction to millions of his countrymen, and admirers throughout the world—because it has enabled him to witness his vindication after a brutal ordeal by abuse.

History, there is every reason to believe, will deal more generously with Herbert Hoover than many of his contemporaries have done. Already, to quote Mr. Lyons' concluding words. "Time has washed off the mud with which he was bespattered—fortunately while he was still alive and active. The granite of integrity underneath became obvious even to the less perceptive of his countrymen."

SERVANT OF HUMANITY

It is most gratifying that three Democratic Presidents, Mr. Truman, Mr. Kennedy, and Mr. Johnson signally honored Mr. Hoover, with Mr. Truman utilizing Mr. Hoover's wise and profound report resulting from the Hoover Commission, and Mr. Johnson repeatedly paying the warmest tribute to Mr. Hoover's lifelong contribution to humanity.

Mr. Hoover's 90 years have compassed many careers—as engineer, humanitarian, political leader, social philosopher—and in each of them he achieved the top rung. His unhappy 4 years in the White House are little more than an interlude in a long life of service to mankind.

Ironically, he was one of the very few who warned against the speculative frenzy of the prosperity years in the 1920's. Fate ruled that he should himself be President when his warnings came true. He was vilified for crimes he did not commit, ridiculed for words he did not utter—such as "prosperity around the corner."

The new biography cuts through the mythology manufactured during his ordeal and Mr. Hoover emerges as a towering moral figure. More than most men, living or dead, he has been the great instrument of America's conscience. Beginning with the Belgian relief in 1914, he has organized and administered dramatic humanitarian compaigns that saved the lives of literally scores of millions throughout the world.

PROFILE IN GREATNESS

Ultimately, Mr. Lyons believes, Hoover will not be judged as a President but as a great human being. Here are few quotations from the book:

"He is a self-made man who from the humblest beginnings rose to transcendent heights—to the summit of his vocation, which was the mining of metals; to the pinnacle of his avocation, which was benevolence; to the highest office in the Republic. Then, with startling suddenness, his destiny took tragic turns.

"Rightly credited with genius in the administration of economic resources, he was fated to preside over a catastrophe of economic disintegration beyond the control of any mortal man. A Quaker whose name had become synonymous with compassion and help to the destitute, he found himself the victim of cruel accusations of callous unconcern for the sufferings of his own countrymen. From the luminous mountain peaks he was driven into the valley of shadows, there to wander for more than 15 years in unmerited ignominy, a man mocked and defamed, pilloried and stoned, for wholly imaginary sins.

"Happily the legend was dissipated in his own lifetime. The landscape of his 90 years has the sweep of great human drama, the counterpoint of brilliant light and melancholy shadows.

"A clear head under the control of a compassionate heart has kept Hoover from succumbing to the catch-phrases and shibboleths of the hour—proof that he was never cut out to be a conventional politician. While devoting his life to the weak and the destitute, he never tried to flatter the masses by glorifying weakness and destitution. He sought to stir them, rather, to new strength and self-reliance.

"Hoover has consistently renounced popularity for principle, for duty as he conceived it. As President, and then as ex-President, he never revised or reversed himself under the terror of organized abuse; he never yielded to the temptation of doing the politically profitable thing against his own logic and conscience.

"His life, I am convinced, will be measured less by what he did—colossal though it has been—than by what he was. Already, in fact, his countrymen instinctively appraise him in moral rather than conventional political terms. They think of him, if at all, not primarily as a President, however rated, but as a great American and a great human being—as a truly good man, whose compassion reached out to embrace all humankind."

These citations, we repeat, are from "Herbert Hoover: A Biography," by Eugene Lyons, published by Doubleday & Co. They provide a foretaste of the literary, historical and moral feast spread in its pages.

A CALL FOR SENATE CONDEMNATION OF SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM: WORLD OPINION CAN HALT PERSECUTION OF JEWISH MINORITY

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee today began hearings on a resolution introduced by my distinguished colleague, the junior Senator from Connecticut, calling for the condemnation of Soviet persecution of the Jewish minority. I am proud to be associated with this resolution as a cosponsor.

It is proper that the Congress of the United States should concern itself with this problem because I am convinced that the force of world opinion can stay the hands of the Soviet tyrants and perhaps ease the plight of the persecuted Jewish minority in some measure.

There is nothing new about Soviet anti-Semitism. It is indeed almost as old as the Soviet regime itself. It has been the subject of many scholarly studies and of scattered newspaper articles spread over a period of two decades. It was the subject of intensive investigation by the Select Committee on Communist Aggression of the 83d Congress, of which I had the honor to be a member. The committee brought out two reports in 1952, one dealing with Soviet anti-Semitism and the other dealing with anti-Semitism in the Communist sphere generally. As the lone member of the select committee who serves in the Senate today, I would commend these reports for the study of my colleagues.

I again addressed myself to the subject of Soviet anti-Semitism in a Senate speech in March of 1960. In this speech I sought to summarize the known facts about Soviet anti-Semitism as they have been documented by experts and interested organizations, and by the Select Committee on Communist Aggression. But during the 1950's and during the early 1960's, for some strange reason, the world paid relatively little attention to statements on the subject of Soviet anti-Semitism. The terrifying story of the persecution of the Jews under communism seemed unable to penetrate the

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public consciousness of the free world.

Perhaps the scholarly studies were too esoteric, too limited in distribution.

Perhaps the newspaper and magazine articles were too scattered and infrequent to be effective.

Perhaps the Jewish communities in the Western countries did not speak up as loudly as they should have for fear of further endangering their coreligionists behind the Iron Curtain.

Perhaps our minds are conditioned far more than we ourselves are prepared to admit by the most powerful and most subtle propaganda apparatus the world has ever known.

Whatever the reason may be, I am convinced from many conversations that, in the public mind, until very recently, anti-Semitism was far more closely identified with Germany than it was with the Soviet Union.

The past 6 months have, however, witnessed a growing international awareness of the problem. The resolution now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is only one manifestation of this awareness. Recently, the Israel delegate to the U.N. Human Rights Committee in Geneva took the extraordinary step of presenting to the Committee a detailed, full-scale indictment of the Soviet persecution of the Jewish minority. And within the past several days the B'nai B'rith International Council has issued a similar study, in which the itemized indictment is brought right up to this very day.

In 1960, a group of professors of the Social Science Division of Fairleigh Dickinson University toured the Soviet Union. In the course of their tour, they took a particular interest in the status of the Jews and in Soviet Government policy toward the Jews. When they got back, they wrote a letter to me from which I should like to quote:

> Our observations have led us to the unhappy conclusions that anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. is not an atavistic remnant of czarist Russia, but is the official policy of the Government of the U.S.S.R.

Since that time, there have been further disturbing evidences of official anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and of Goverment incitation against the Jewish minority.

Toward the end of 1962, for example, one of Moscow's largest publishing houses brought out a translation of a long-forgotten classic of anti-Semitism, entitled "The Gallery of Saints," by Paul-Henry Holbach, an 18th century atheist. This book has justly been described as one of the most evil anti-Semitic books ever published, ranking in viciousness and untruthfulness with the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

To give you an idea of the contents of this book, the writer says in it that the Prophet Jeremiah was a crook and a real estate speculator, that Moses was a cruel tyrant, that the Jews hated other people and other people hated them, and that Moses developed their cruelty and their greed. As for contemporary religious Jews, Holbach says that "they behave toward non-Jews no better than their ancestors did; they think they are allowed to do anything to infidels and heretics." He states further that "Jewish theologists teach that, if a Jew sees a non-Jew dying or drowning, he should not save him or pull him out of the water, though he is not allowed to kill him."

This book was printed in 175,000 copies and sold through state book stores in the Soviet Union.

With literature like this being circulated, it is no surprise that Jews have been attacked and murdered in recent years in the Soviet Union, that they are the prime target of editorialists and of judicial persecution.

I am certain that the Foreign Relations Committee will report favorably, and it is my hope that the Senate will approve it unanimously.

It is my earnest hope that by focusing the spotlight of publicity on the terrible persecution of the Jewish people by the Soviet regime, we will be able to induce the Soviet authorities to at least abandon the official encouragement of anti-Semitism and to accord the Jewish minority the same rights as other minorities.

Mr. President, because I believe that a compilation of statements of Soviet anti-Semitism will be useful to all those interested in the subject, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD the following documents:

First. Excerpts from my Senate speech "Anti-Semitism, the Swastika Epidemic, and Communism," which appeared in the RECORD for March 15, 1960.

Second. The full statement of the Israeli representative to the U.N. Human Rights Committee of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, Ambassador Moshe Bartur.

Third. The text of the survey recently published by the B'nai B'rith International Council.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPT FROM STATEMENT BY SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD ON FLOOR OF SENATE, MARCH 15, 1960

For many years after the Bolshevik revolution, it was commonly believed, by conservatives as well as liberals, that, despite all its evil features, communism did not practice discrimination on racial or religious grounds. It was equalitarian in the sense that all men, regardless of race or religion, were equally persecuted. Personally, I question this conception of equalitarianism; but there were, and still are, many people who seem to see some peculiar virtue in equality of persecution.

The myth that all men are equal under communism remains to this day one of the Kremlin's chief propaganda weapons in its appeal to the Negro, Jewish, and other minorities in this country, to racial minorities in other countries, and to the colonial peoples.

The fact is that the Soviet Union is a gigantic prisonhouse of nations where minorities have been persecuted and exploited, and where genocide has been a common instrument of state police. It is an imperialist empire which, for its coldblooded ruthlessness, has no equal in history.

The fate of the Jews under communism is most illustrative.

The treatment of minorities, historically, may be considered a gage of social and moral progress; and in modern times, it has become a gage of social sanity. Wherever minorities have been oppressed in Europe, the Jews have generally been among the first to suffer and they have often suffered the most acutely. This is so because they are dispersed and more helpless, and because differences of custom and religion and the survival of ancient prejudices make them convenient scapegoats for despotic regimes.

On the specific question of anti-Semitism, the Communist leaders, in the early days, made some very strong statements: "Anti-Semitism," said Stalin, in an interview with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency of America in January 1931, "is an extreme form of racial chauvinism, is the most dangerous survival of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism as a phenomenon hostile to the Soviet system, is severely punished by law. Active anti-Semites are punished by capital punishment under the laws of the U.S.S.R."

Thus spoke Stalin in 1931. But, in reality, anti-Semitism is as inherent in Marxist totalitarianism as it was in Nazi totalitarianism. Karl Marx himself was, in many of his statements, as virulently anti-Semitic as Goebbels. Over the decades, the Communists have done their utmost to conceal this fact. Marx's translators into English and the European languages carefully eliminated his anti-Semitic diatribes from editions of his books and writings. But the proof exists.

I have in hand the first English translation of the unexpurgated papers of Karl Marx on the so-called Jewish question. It was printed only last year. In it, you will find that Marx referred to the distinguished German Social Democratic leader, Ferdinand Lasalle, whom he considered too moderate, as, I quote, "Judel Itzig—Jewish nigger." In another letter, Marx made the statement: "Ramsgate is full of Jews and fleas." In still another statement he said, and I quote again: "Emancipation from usury and money, that is, from practical real Judaism, would constitute the emancipation of our time."

This was not Hitler speaking. It was the recognized ideological father of Soviet communism. This was Karl Marx.

The persecution of the Jews in the Soviet Union can only be understood within the context of the Marxist ideology and of the Kremlin's broad general policy toward all minorities.

In the period immediately after the revolution, when they were still endeavoring to consolidate their regime, the Bolsheviks attempted to purchase the support of the national minorities by preaching the freedom and equality of peoples. The appointment of native Communists to party and Government posts was encouraged. The use of the various minority languages, which had been restricted under the czar, was also encouraged.

By the early thirties, Stalin had achieved absolute power. At this point, the toleration and encouragement of national cultures gave way to a massive campaign against the languages and cultures of all the national minorities.

The development of a totalitarian state requires total conformity, it requires the reduction of all peoples to a single norm. The Russian language was selected as the instrument for the new cultural straitjacket because it happened to be the language of the largest national group and was the most widely spoken.

In the Ukraine, for example, Russian was again made the main language of instruction in almost 80 percent of the universities. Ukrainian specialists and scientists were assigned to other areas of the Soviet Union while increasing numbers of Russian specialists and scientists were imported into the Ukraine.

The apparatus of government was ruthlessly purged of all those who were suspected of the sin of bourgeois nationalism. Ukrainian intellectuals, party leaders, and administrators were the chief targets of this terror. The terror reached its zenith during 1937–38 when, it is estimated, some 200,000

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persons were executed in the course of 1 year. I have documentary evidence concerning the massacre in the city of Vinnitsa alone of 12,000 persons; and there is evidence that similar massacres occurred at many other points in the Ukraine.

The man in charge of the Ukraine during this period, I might point out, incidentally, was a certain N. S. Khrushchev, who last summer was invited to visit our country as an honored guest.

What happened to the Ukrainian people happened, with variations in pattern and degree, to all the other national minorities in the Soviet Union.

The imposition of Russian Communist control was even more marked in the case of the minor Moslem nationalities of central Asia. In all of these central Asian Republics, Russians held the key posts in the ministries of security and of the interior and, in general throughout the apparatus of party and government. In the so-called autonomous Kazakh Republic, for example, native Kazakhs, according to a report published in 1948, held only 2 percent of the administrative posts in the ministries of local industry and public health; 4 percent in light industries; 6.7 percent in textiles; and so on down the line.

The Negro in America unquestionably suffers from serious restrictions on rights and opportunities. He is now on his way up. But in the darkest days after emancipation, he enjoyed far greater rights than do some of the Asian minorities in the Soviet Union today.

In certain respects the persecution of the Jews and of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union has been even more severe than that endured by other minorities. Physically their persecution is on a par with that of the Ukrainians. In terms of denial of opportunity, their treatment is even worse than that of the Kazakhs. Culturally, their persecution is total. Instead of being permitted a restricted representation in the apparatus of party and government, the Jews today are virtually excluded from all administrative positions of any importance. While all religion is persecuted and regulated, the Jewish religion is persecuted with particular ruthlessness.

Why is this so? I can think of several reasons. First of all, there is the fact that the Jews have both their own religion and their our national culture; this makes them eligible for persecution on both scores.

Secondly, the rulers of the Kremlin have apparently suspected them of mass disloyalty to the Soviet state. This is not surprising, for no Jew could be expected to enthuse over things like the Hitler-Stalin pact or Moscow's incitation of the Arabs against the State of Israel.

Perhaps even more important, the great majority of the Russian Jews have relatives in America. This makes them suspect, in Khrushchev's eyes, of harboring pro-American sympathies.

Finally, Communist anti-Semitism, like czarist anti-Semitism, exploits the Jew as a scapegoat—a convenient outlet for popular resentment which might otherwise be directed against the regime.

A major shift in Soviet policy toward the Jews first became apparent in 1937–38. Zinoviev, Radek, and a few of the other old Bolsheviks who were liquidated in the great purges of the thirties had been born Jews. Of course, they could no more be considered Jews than Stalin and Khrushchev could be considered Christians. But there is reason to believe that in Stalin's paranoid mind, party opposition to his one-man rule somehow became identified with the accident of Jewish birth.

Perhaps, more important, there seemed to be a growing possibility of a deal with Hitler. If this deal were consummated, every Jew in the Soviet Union would have to be considered an enemy of the regime.

Surreptitiously, the Soviet Government began to encourage anti-Semitic propaganda. Secret directives went out to the civil service to restrict recruitment of Jews and to demote or remove many of those who held office. Jewish schools and newspapers and community organizations were forcibly closed down. Thousands of the Jewish communal leaders were physically liquidated.

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union did not persuade the Kremlin to abandon its persecution of the Jews. Jews in the Red Army fought heroically against the Nazi invader and, in many cases, rose to fairly high rank. But Stalin by this time apparently shared Hitler's psychopathic hatred of the Jews. The result was a policy of passive cooperation with the Nazi enemy in permitting their extermination.

When Hitler invaded Russia there were more than 5 million Jews in the Soviet Union proper and in the territories it had annexed under the Hitler-Stalin Pact. More than 3 million of these vanished during World War II. Scores of thousands of those who vanished were victims of mass deportations to Siberia. The great majority, however, were captured by the Nazis and perished in their infamous extermination camps.

But the question arises: How is it that more Jews were not able to flee before the Nazi army? How is it that the Nazis were able to capture virtually intact the large Jewish communities in so many cities in Soviet territory?

Jewish organizations in this country are convinced that the Soviet Government did nothing to facilitate the evacuation of the Jews from areas that were threatened by the Nazi army, even though they knew the fate that awaited the Jews under Nazi occupation. According to eyewitnesses before the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression in 1954, those Jews in the occupied territories who succeeded in escaping did so by fleeing individually or in small groups through the swamps and forests. They testified that Jews attempting to flee from threatened areas en masse or in large groups were turned back by Soviet guard units.

The attitude of the Soviet press during the war also deserves some comment. The Kremlin editorialists could find no words strong enough to denounce Nazi inhumanity. But they spoke always of "crimes against Soviet citizens." The systematic extermination of the Jews by the Nazis was, apparently, a crime that did not call for special mention or display of moral indignation.

For several years after World War II, Soviet policy toward the Jews continued to manifest two faces. In its propaganda to the free world, the Kremlin continued to pose as an opponent of anti-Semitism and all forms of racial discrimination. At home, the persecution was intensified. In increasing numbers, the Jews were forced out of administrative positions. Public hostility toward them was encouaged by a hundred subtle devices.

During the period of Soviet occupation, at least 40,000 Jews were deported to Siberia from Hungary alone and many thousands more were deported from Rumania.

Other terrors awaited the Jews of the satellite countries. In the immediate postwar period the Communists did not yet have complete control of these countries. They were either in the process of consolidating control or preparing to seize power. What more convenient smokescreen could there be for them, what more effective diversion, than a campaign against the Jews, with a few old-fashioned pogroms thrown in?

In Poland during the course of 1946 there was a whole series of murderous attacks on Jews which cost several hundred Jewish lives. In the pogrom at Kielce alone, 41 Jews were killed by a mob, while the Communist militia stood idly by, or else arrested the Jews.

In Czechoslovakia there was also a series of bloody anti-Semitic incidents. The Communists tried to blame these incidents on the Fascists, but there is considerable evidence that they themselves instigated them. The Communist Minister of Propaganda during this period, Vaclov Kopecky, referred to the Jews in his statements as "those bearded Solomons" or "this Jewish scum." In this propaganda he was abetted by the present Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Antonin Zapotocky.

In Hungary, local Communist leaders organized bloody attacks on the Jewish people in the cities of Miskolcz and Kunmadaras. According to the testimony of Dr. Zoltan Klar, a Hungarian Jewish leader, and of Mr. Irving Engel of the American Jewish Committee, the Communist police did nothing to prevent the riots and in many cases they protected the instigators. Those responsible for the riots, moreover, were never punished.

But in 1948, Stalin apparently became impatient with the limited, gradual anti-Semitism of the previous decade. The cold war had sharpened. Tito had defected from Soviet control. The Jews of the Soviet Union and the satellite countries had shown unconcealed enthusiasm over the establishment of the State of Israel. In the warped mind of Stalin this situation called for an all-out offensive against everything that might be considered a "foreign" or "Western" influence. Anything which suggested adherence to a non-Russian group was automatically guilty of "bourgeois nationalism"; and friendship for anything outside the Soviet Union was stigmatized as "cosmopolitanism."

In the fall of 1948, with one sweeping administrative decree, Stalin and his cultural commissar, Andrei Zhdanov, completely eliminated what remained of Jewish cultural and communal life in the Soviet Union. Nominally, the campaign was directed against the Zionists. Of course, everyone who considered himself a Zionist had long previously perished in Stalin's concentration camps. In reality, the new Soviet anti-Semitism was directed not against Zionism, but against everyone of Jewish origin, even if they were Communists.

In this respect, I see nothing to distinguish the anti-Semitism of Stalin from the anti-Semitism of Hitler.

At one stroke, all Jewish schools were closed. Jewish newspapers were shut down. The Yiddish publishing house, Emes, was also closed. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow was dissolved and its leaders arrested. More than 450 Jewish writers, artists, and intellectuals—the cream of the Jewish intelligentsia in the Soviet Union—were executed.

Despite restraints and persecution, Russia under the czar had been the world center of Yiddish culture. In the early period of cultural tolerance, the Soviet Union had the largest numbers of Yiddish schools in the world, the greatest number of Jewish pedagogical institutions, the only Jewish institution of higher learning in Yiddish, and Yiddish departments in many universities. There were 4 Yiddish state publishing houses and 14 state theaters. And there were 35 periodicals and newspapers, 4 of them dailies.

Some of these institutions and publications had ceased to exist during the anti-Semitic purges of 1936–38. Others had ceased to exist during the war. But with the Zhdanov decree, everything ceased. Where there had once been a flourishing Jewish culture, there was now a desert.

One year after the Zhdanov decree, in September 1949, there took place the first of a whole series of spectacular Communist show trials involving Jewish defendants. The scene of this first trial was Budapest.

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The chief defendant was the former Minister of the Interior, Laszlo Rajk.

Rajk himself was not a Jew. In fact he was generally considered anti-Semitic. He had used his post to instigate the pogroms in Miskolcz and Kunmadaras, or else to protect those Communists who had instigated them. Three of Rajk's codefendants, in this trial, however, were Jewish, and they were forced to sign confessions that they had served as Zionist spies. These so-called Zionist spies had, according to the charges, conspired with America, England, and Tito's Yugoslavia to overthrow the Communist government.

To the accompaniment of an ominous propaganda about the "world Zionist conspiracy," Rajk and his chief codefendants were sentenced to death.

A few years later, it was the turn of Czechoslovakia. In November 1952, there took place the great Prague trial of Rudolf Slansky, former secretary-general of the party, and his alleged confederates. In this trial, 11 of the 14 defendants, including Slansky, were Jews. To make sure that this fact was not missed by the public, the official indictment bore the words, I quote, "of Jewish origin," after the name of each Jewish defendant.

As Communists, it goes without saying, all of these defendants had long previously renounced their Jewish religion and they were violently opposed to Zionism. This apparently was not considered any serious obstacle by the professional brainwashers who prepared Slansky and his colleagues for their appearances in court.

The trial, from the first, was an obscene anti-Semitic orgy. The defendants confessed that they had been participants in a worldwide Jewish conspiracy operating in the service of American and British imperialism. For variety, their conspiracy was sometimes referred to as a "capitalist-imperialist Trotskyist-Titoist plot." Involved in this plot, if one were to believe the confessions, were former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry J. Morgenthau, Mr. Bernard Baruch, Israel Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, and the Yugoslav Communist leader Moshe Pijade.

All of the evils of the Communist regime and all of the suffering of the Czechoslovak peoples were charged to the account of Slansky and his codefendants and their American and British masters. They confessed to planning the disorganization of the Czechoslovak economy, to contriving artificial scarcities of food and fuel, and the inflation of the national currency. The commentaries of the Czechoslovak press, referring to the Jewish defendants, employed such adjectives as "huckstering," "profiteering," "bloodsucking," "Judases," "scum with a dark past."

On November 28, 11 defendants, 8 of them Jews, were sentenced to death by hanging. The sentences were carried out a few days later.

There is a footnote to the stories of the Rajk trial in Hungary and the Slansky trial in Czechoslovakia. In the fall of 1956, after Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin's crimes, it was announced that the Rajk trial had been a frameup from beginning to end and that the confessions had been extorted. The rehabilitation of some of Slansky's codefendants implied a similar admission.

What a commentary on the practice of justice under communism.

Needless to say, the Slansky trial was accompanied by a wholesale dismissal of Jews from all public office. The trial also served as a signal for a further intensification of the campaign of official anti-Semitism throughout the Soviet empire. This campaign reached perhaps its lowest point in the infamous "Moscow doctors' plot."

On January 13, 1953, the Soviet Ministry of Internal Security announced that nine prominent doctors, six of whom were Jews, had been arrested on the charge of murdering two Politburo members, Andrei Zhdanov and Alexander Scherbakov, by medical mistreatment. They were also accused of having attempted the murder of a number of top-ranking officers of the Soviet armed forces. The arrested doctors, said the Kremlin, had all confessed that they had carried out their crimes on orders of the world Zionist conspiracy and that these orders had been transmitted from Israel by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

According to the American Jewish Yearbook for 1954, the so-called doctors' plot resulted in a universal orgy of denunciations, demotions, and arrests of Jewish citizens throughout the Soviet empire. All this, it said, was accompanied by a barrage of propaganda designed to prove that all Jews were apt to be traitors, spies, imperialist agents, embezzlers, and outright murderers.

On March 5, 1953, Stalin died. The public campaign against the arrested Jewish doctors and against the Jews ceased. On April 4 the Ministry of the Interior made the startling announcement that the doctors' plot has been a frameup; the evidence had been falsified and the confessions extorted. This seemed to be a step in the right direction. It caused many people to hope that, with Stalin's death, anti-Semitism in the Soviet sphere had also perished.

Everything that has happened since 1953, however, proves conclusively that Moscow has never abandoned its anti-Jewish campaign.

In Moscow the 13 doctors were released, but this was the only concession granted. The thousands of Jews in prison remained in prison. Zionism remained illegal. Jewish culture and communal life and Jewish emigration remained under total ban, the Jewish religion under a near-total ban. And the basic charges made in the Slansky trial and in the Moscow doctors' plot were repeated and repeated until they acheived the status of articles of faith for all Communists.

Two weeks after the Moscow doctors were released, on April 16, 1953, the head of the Czechoslovak delegation to the U.N., Foreign Minister Vaclav David, upheld all the charges that had been made in the Slansky trial and reiterated the accusation that the Zionists and other Jewish organizations were hotbeds of American sabotage and espionage, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky backed his Czechoslovak protege to the hilt on this occasion.

In Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania, the rash of anti-Jewish show trials continued for more than a year after the release of the Moscow doctors. In Czechoslovakia alone there were four such trials between May of 1953 and April of 1954. The last of these trials, which took place in Bratislava, had a new twist. None of the defendants were Jewish, but they were charged with the crime of having protected Jews or having failed to punish them.

These show trials, involving amalgams of Jewish and non-Jewish Communists, received considerable international publicity. The persecution of the Jewish community leaders and Zionist leaders unfortunately, received far less publicity. Literally thousands of these leaders had been imprisoned in the satellite countries, in particular in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania, during 1948 and 1949. During the course of 1953–54, some hundreds of these were brought to trial, charged with Zionist activities and aid to Jewish emigrants.

These trials were secret, but some of the details inevitably leaked out. Writing in the magazine Commentary, Peter Meyer reported that in the spring of 1954 the secret trials in Rumania reached such numbers as to constitute a mass terror. Not less than 100 Jewish leaders were tried and sentenced in 1 month, he said. One of the trials involved 22 members of a Socialist Zionist youth group. Its leader defied the Communist court with these words: "You have tortured and killed many of our members in your dungeons. This crime will never be forgotten." He and his comrades were all sentenced to 20 years in prison.

The 5-year period that followed the Zhdanov decree of 1948 is remembered by the Jews of the Soviet Union as "the black years." The facts about this period were documented as early as 1951 by the Jewish scholar, Dr. Solomon Schwarz, in his book, "The Jews in the Soviet Union." But despite such documentations and despite the blatant anti-Semitism of all the show trials that took place during this period, the Kremlin was able to pretend to its followers in the free world, as late as 1956, that there was no anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

Even high-ranking Jewish Communists, who should have had access to the facts, assured their followers, and assured themselves, that the charges of anti-Semitism made by Jewish organizations were slanderous fabrications.

In February 1956 there took place the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at which Khrushchev made his famous denunciation of the crimes of the Stalin era. A slackening of control inevitably followed this speech. In his speech to the party congress, Khrushchev said nothing about the persecution of the Jews. But shortly after the congress, on April 4, 1956, the Polish Jewish paper Folkshtimme confirmed the fact that the hundreds of Jewish writers who had disappeared in the wake of the Zhdanov decree, had been executed.

To the scattered Jewish following which the Communist Party still maintained in the free world, the article in Folkshtimme struck a shattering blow. Some of the most eloquent condemnations of Soviet and anti-Semitism have been written by former Jewish Communists and by official Communist Party delegations who went to the Soviet Union to check on the facts. Their eyes were opened by what they saw.

I want to quote a few paragraphs from one of the many revealing articles that appeared in the world Communist press during the period of disarray that followed these revelations. These paragraphs are extracted from the report of a delegation of the British Communist Party to the Soviet Union and they were printed in the London Communist weekly World News in October 1956:

"For some years prior to the death of Stalin, rumors began to spread that all was not well in the Jewish field, and that well-known Jewish writers and intellectuals had disappeared. Then came the revelations of the 20th Congress, and later, specific charges in the Folkshtimme.

"Naturally these charges created consternation and bewilderment in the ranks of Jewish Communists in all countries, so that it became a matter of urgency and of importance to expose their truth or falsehood.

"The first piece of concrete information came from a visit to the Lenin State Library. Here there exists a Yiddish and a Hebrew section. It turned out that there is nothing in Yiddish later than 1948, when publication of Yiddish papers and journals must therefore have ceased.

"The Soviet Encylcopedia, which in its 1932 edition devoted about 160 columns to the Jews, reduces this in the 1952 edition to 4 columns. The biographies of many eminent Jews had been removed. Marx was no longer referred to as a Jew.

"The first task, therefore, was to meet a few Jewish writers and to examine their reactions to this. Official requests to this end were made, but we were informed that this was not possible as they were all on holiday, while Halkin (a Jewish writer who survived),

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who was at home, was too ill to receive anyone.

"Then came the discovery from private conversations by Comrade Levy with Jews that the years 1948–52 were known among them as the black years, the period during which many Jews were dismissed from their posts, Jewish poets and writers were arrested and charged with treason and executed, Yiddish disappeared from the street and marketplace, the population closed up together, becoming tense and nervy, and young Jews who might otherwise have merged with the general population and have forgotten that they were Jews, awoke to a new sense of unity in distress.

"But let it be said that this fear did not emanate from any general feeling of antagonism from among the Russian population, but from official or quasi-official sources; from the security police, in fact."

This report, I want to emphasize, was written not by critics of the Soviet regime, but by members of the British Communist Party.

The furor which such articles caused in the world Communist movement resulted in a few minor concessions. In the course of 1957, for the first time since the revolution, the Jews were permitted to establish a small theological seminary in Moscow. Permission was also granted for the publication of a small number of prayer books in Hebrew, for the staging of some Yiddish music recitals, for the printing of a few works of Yiddish writers in Russian translation.

But this is as far as the concessions went. Despite repeated promises to Communist delegations which visited the Soviet Union after 1955, the reestablishment of a Yiddish theater and Yiddish press and Yiddish publishing house was never permitted. Instead, there was an accelerated discrimination against Jews in public life, in the national economy, and in the educational field.

The Jewish population of the Soviet Union represents approximately 1.4 percent of the country's total population. In 1958, only 3 of the 1,336 members of the Supreme Soviet—one-fourth of 1 percent of the total—could be identified as Jews. On a per capita basis, this would signify that the Jews had only one-sixth the political representation to which they were entitled.

So far as is known, no Jew is to be found in the foreign service, among the higher ranks of the armed forces, or in the various military academies. Jews are also excluded from leading posts in the Communist Party, from the central party newspapers and the foreign section of the Soviet press. Jews are progressively being excluded from admission to the universities.

The facts which I have just listed here were part of a statement issued by the American Jewish Committee in conjunction with their meeting with First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan in January 1959. Since that time, there seems to have been a further deterioration in the position of the Soviet Jews.

What is the situation today in the Soviet Union? Let me list only a few items from the current catalogs on Soviet anti-Semitism that have been compiled by the New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the New Leader, and other publications.

A few months ago the synagogue in the town of Malachovka near Moscow was set on fire.

The synagogues of Chernovtsky, Bobruisk, Korosten, Baranovich, Kharkov, Novoselitsa, Orenburg, Chernigov, Staline, Babushkin, and other cities have been closed down by the security authorities.

In the city of Kharkov, where there are 70,000 Jews, there is not a single synagogue to serve their religious needs.

The synagogue at Voronezh has been taken over by the authorities for use as a grain warehouse. The Jewish community has been unable to raise the money required to redeem it.

In Yevpatoriya, in the Crimea, the authorities confiscated 25,000 rubles raised by the Jewish community to rent a building for a synagogue.

Deprived of synagogues, the Jews have attempted to pursue their worship in private prayer meetings. Such prayer meetings have been reported forcibly dispersed in the cities of Kharkov, Olevsk, Tula, Bobruisk, Vitebsk, and other places. In Vitebsk the Jews were threatened with 10 years in prison if they resumed their meetings.

In Bendery, Baranovich, Minsk, Kishinev, Voronezh, and Kiev, Jewish cemeteries have been desecrated and memorials defaced.

In Kiev, Kharkov, Kuibyshev, Rostov, Kishinev, Odessa, and Lvov, a ban was imposed on the baking of matzoh, the unleavened bread which plays a central role in the Passover observance. To my mind, there could be no more pitiless or more pointless deprivation than this.

For the Jewish population of almost 3 million, there are only 60 rabbis in the whole of the Soviet Union. Their average age is well over 70. In the case of the Orthodox religion in Russia, there is 1 priest for every 5,000 faithful. This is bad enough. But in the case of the Jewish religion there is only 1 rabbi for every 50,000 Jews. With virtually no replacements in sight, the situation is bound to become worse over the coming years.

The Orthodox Church and the Moslem religion have been permitted to maintain a number of seminaries. The only Jewish seminary permitted is limited to an attendance of 20 students. Patricia Blake, in her article in Life magazine last December, has described how these 20 students pursue their studies in the corners of the Moscow synagogue, because no space has been made available for their seminary.

The teaching of Hebrew remains under the ban imposed at the time of the revolution. In the 40 years of Soviet rule, no more than several thousand Hebrew prayer books have been printed; only several hundred distributed.

Openly anti-Semitic books and publications are appearing with increasing frequency. The villains in this literature all adhere to a single stereotype. They all have unmistakably Jewish names; they are all moneygrubbers, without human feeling, dishonest in their relations with the state and their fellow men.

Whether a Jew is religious or nonreligious, whether he is pro-Communist or anti-Communist, he has no way of escaping the fate which the Soviet regime has ordained for his people. The word "Jew" is stamped on his internal passport—the document which is the key to a man's existence in every Communist country. This inscription is not intended as a religious identification because the members of no other religious groups are thus identified. The Soviet internal passport does state the nationality of the bearer; but the Kremlin apparently does not recognize the Jews as a nationality because it refuses to grant them the most elementary communal rights enjoyed by the smallest and most primitive national groupings in the U.S.S.R. The marked passports of the Soviet Jews serve only one purpose: the same purpose served in its time by the yellow badge which the Nazis compelled the Jews to wear for the purpose of self-identification. To every factory manager, to every university president, to every party bureaucrat, to every minor official, it constitutes a directive to treat the bearer as a member of a hostile and inferior breed; it constitutes a command to hate and to persecute.

As I was winding up the work on this analysis, I received a communication from a group of professors of the Social Sciences Division of Fairleigh Dickenson University, who had toured the Soviet Union last summer. Appalled by the many evidences of Soviet anti-Semitism, they wrote letters last November and December to 10 leading Soviet educators and editors, including Aleksei Adzhubei, editor of Izvestia, and son-in-law of Nikita Khrushchev. Their letters pointed out that the Jews do not appear to enjoy the rights guaranteed by Soviet laws and professed by the Communist philosophy, and they asked for a detailed explanation of this anomalous situation. To date only one Soviet editor has deigned to reply. The reply said that their letter had been forwarded to somebody else.

In their letter to me, the group of American professors wrote: "Our observations have led us to the unhappy conclusions that anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. is not an atavistic remnant of czarist Russia, but is the official policy of the Government of the U.S.S.R."

In Rumania, in Hungary, and especially in Poland under Prime Minister Gomulka, there appears to have been limited improvement in the treatment of Jews. In these countries, while they still suffer from discrimination and economic disabilities, Jewish cultural, and religious life now enjoy somewhat increased freedom. This limited improvement in the satellite countries is, of course, subject to instant recall if it ever serves Communist purposes.

Why is there this difference between Soviet policy toward the Jews and the policy presently pursued in some of the satellites? I can think of two reasons.

The first reason is that the Soviet Government is more directly interested than are the satellites in influencing Arab opinion in the Middle East and in preventing any settlement between the Arab States and Israel. Soviet anti-Semitism and Soviet strategic objectives in the Middle East complement each other. Arab nationalism must be wooed and fanned by constantly identifying Israel and Zionism with British and American imperialism.

Let me give you one example of the Kremlin's propaganda to the Arab world. I quote from the publication "The State of Israel—Its Position and Policies," printed by the Soviet state publishing house in 1958:

"The Zionist movement represents a form of the nationalistic ideology of the rich Jewish bourgeoisie, intimately tied to imperialism and to colonial oppression of the people of Asia, Zionism has tied itself to American and other Western capitalism and, with Jewish terrorist tactics, attacked its Arab neighbors. The national liberation movement of the people of the Middle East, spearheaded by its native leaders (such as President Nasser, King Ibn Saud, of Saudi Arabia, and King Iman Ahmad, of Yemen) is constantly threatened by naked Jewish aggression. The clear duty of all Marxists and Communists in this situation is to help the Asian and African people crush the reactionary Jewish forces."

The second explanation I can think of for the intensified anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union today is the personally irrational attitude of Prime Minister Khrushchev. The Anti-Defamation League has stated that the primitive, vulgar anti-Semitic tone characteristic of Khrushchev's occasional interviews and outbursts on the subject of the Jews is unmistakable. This evaluation coincides with that of the most prominent Jewish member of the Canadian Communist Party, Mr. J. B. Salsberg, after a 2-hour interview with the Soviet Premier in August 1956.

According to Mr. Salsberg, Khrushchev first of all denied that there was anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union; and then went on to list a whole series of personal objections to Jews. He quoted the Soviet Prime Minister as saying that:

"Wherever a Jew settles, the first thing he does is build a synagogue.

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"Of the thousands of Soviet citizens who have toured abroad, only three failed to return. All of them were Jews.

"* * * He [Khrushchev] agreed with Stalin that the Crimea, which had been depopulated at the war's end, should not be turned into a Jewish colonization center, because, in case of war, it would be turned into a base for attacking the U.S.S.R.

"'I was much disturbed by the above remarks,' concluded Mr. Salsberg. 'They reflect a backward prejudice against the Jewish group as a people. * * * Khrushchev's statements smack of White Russian chauvinism * * * his approach to the problem of Jewish nationality is an unforgiveable violation of social democracy. If Khrushchev's distrust of the Jewish people is warranted, then this is a terrible indictment, not of Soviet Jewry, but of Stalinist crimes and of distortions in the nationalities policy, in particular as it is applied to the Jewish people.'"

This is the Khrushchev who today accuses Konrad Adenauer of being another Hitler.

Economic and Social Council: 37th Session

(Statement by Ambassador Moshe Bartur, Permanent Representative of Israel to the European Office of the United Nations—Geneva)

Mr. Chairman, my government and the people of Israel have followed closely and with the deepest interest the work of ECOSOC and its Committee on Human Rights with regard to the problems of religious intolerance and racial discrimination. There is no need for any explanation of this special concern by Jews in general and the State of Israel in particular. It flows naturally from ancient and most recent historical experience alike. As I had ocacsion to point out in a statement last year in the Human Rights Commission, it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between various forms of anti-Jewish movements and manifestations of racial and religious discrimination. Religious and racial persecution derive from the same source. Anti-Semitism constitutes an age-old curse, of which mankind has not yet been able to rid itself. It is our fervent hope and desire that in our generation—experiencing spectacular technological progress, when medicine is conquering biological diseases affecting men—social thought, through international action, might finally overcome the scourge of discrimination and anti-Semitism. We, therefore, welcome enthusiastically the progress achieved with regard to the Convention on Racial Discrimination. We believe that the article on anti-Semitism as suggested by the United States is vitally important and extremely topical and we hope that it will be included in the final draft. We likewise welcome the detailed suggestions in the report of the subcommission with regard to the subject of religious intolerance.

However, we have to evaluate this progress in the light of the actual situation, and, alas, here the facts are extremely disquieting. There is certainly no room for complacence when reviewing the state of affairs in a realistic manner. Irrespective of social systems and environments anti-Semitism remains an endemic disease in many countries causing, from time to time, dangerous outbreaks in various parts of the world. There is only one consolation. At present almost nowhere is it taking the form of a declared government policy; on the contrary, international conscience—and here we gladly recognize the decisive role of United Nations work—is, so we hope and believe, creating a climate in which active racial and religious persecution finds it progressively more difficult to survive, and we trust will finally be overcome and eliminated. This makes it the more urgent to deal with it openly and courageously in those areas where it still exists in a most acute form. I am referring especially to the problem with regard to the largest Jewish community in Europe. Here we are confronted with a situation causing the deepest anxiety and one which is indeed of a most dramatic character for two main reasons: First, it is one of the largest Jewish communities surviving the Nazi massacre—approximately 3 million people. Secondly, this community is part of a highly organized State and society where central authority influences and directs all spheres of economic and cultural activity. And here we witness a systematic attempt to dispossess the Jewish community of its religious, cultural, and linguistic heritage. Opportunity and facilities for Jewish education are denied; ties and communication with other Jewish communities in Israel or elsewhere are prevented; a systematic campaign of indoctrination proclaims the duty of bringing about the severance of the historical continuity and the complete extinction of national identity.

It is true, there is no persecution in the physical sense of the word. But is not the campaign of artificial assimilation enforced by the strong apparatus of a powerful State almost as grave a phenomenon?

I know that the representatives of the Government concerned do not accept this factful analysis. They try to describe assimilation as a result of the spontaneous wish of the Jews themselves. But if so, what need would there then be to deny the Jewish community free access and communication with their coreligionists abroad? Why then are Jews in this country not free if they wish to join their families abroad—in Israel or elsewhere?

We are accustomed to hear another argument brought forward in apology, when attention is called to the situation of the Jews in the country referred to. This is sometimes characterized as flowing from sentiments of hostility toward a certain ideological or political system. Any such contention represents a dangerous misunderstanding, preventing realistic analysis and constructive approach toward a solution of the Jewish problem in this country.

May I state most emphatically, Mr. Chairman, that my Government, in raising these painful matters, is motivated by two considerations only: (1) Our obvious moral duty to call attention to a serious situation understandably very close to our heart. (2) We are convinced that this situation is an obstacle in the way of necessary moral and spiritual rapprochement of powers and groups of countries, which must go together with the generally desired relief in world tension.

Indeed, our deep worry in view of the situation described is shared by many who can certainly not be suspected of any unfavorable bias toward the country concerned and its system. May I prove this submission by some quotations:

In May and June this year Mr. Paul Novick, the editor of the only Communist daily newspaper published in the United States—the "Morning Freihait," which deals with the thesis of "Voluntary Assimilation"—in a series of three extremely interesting articles, said:

"The line of forced assimilation which began with the Stalin cult has in the main, remained intact."

Certainly the editor of this Communist newspaper which, as it happens, is printed in Yiddish, cannot be accused of being "cold warmonger". Moreover, he bases his contentions on a quotation from Lenin's writings as follows:

"Every citizen would be able to demand the rescinding of orders that would, for example, prohibit the hiring at state expense, of teachers of the Jewish language, Jewish history, and so forth, or the provision of state-owned premises for lectures for Jewish, Armenian or Rumanian children, or even for one Georgian child."

Then with regard to religious discrimination and indigenous anti-Semitism, may we call as witness the theoretical organ of the Communist Party in the United States.

"Political Affairs," which writes, under the heading "Soviet Anti-Semitism: The Kitchko Book":

"While the Greek Orthodox Church can manage to provide for its needs in the way of religious articles, the synagogues cannot, and are therefore deprived of access to such things as tallisim, tfillin and prayer books. The crude antireligionism which pervades much of the current antireligious propaganda and the failure to appreciate sufficiently the special situation of the Jewish religion in these respects are, we believe, central factors in explaining such seemingly pointless actions as the creation of difficulties in securing matzos for the Passover, actions which give encouragement, even though unintended, to remnants of anti-Semitism at home."

The attitude of the editors of this official publication is no less forthright on the question whether the government is or is not doing enough to combat this indigenous anti-Semitism.

After emphasizing:

"the great tenacity of national and racial prejudice and the need to wage relentless ideological war against it."

They write:

"It is, we believe, an unjustified feeling that the fight is over, and consequently an insensitivity to continued expressions of anti-Semitism and a failure to see the need of an open campaign to eradicate every vestige of it, that account for the appearance of such monstrosities as Judaism Without Embellishment."

(Similar quotations may be found in the Communist press of France, Italy, and other countries.)

The reference is to the notorious anti-Semitic book by Kitchko, which was published by the Academy of Science of a certain Republic and which was allegedly withdrawn from distribution following worldwide public indignation. But unfortunately books of no less poisonous character are still being distributed in hundreds of thousands of copies.

May I beg your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, for a few more minutes in order to acquaint the Council considering the report of the Human Rights Commission with the problem in all its frightening seriousness. As illustration, some quotations from sources inside the country concerned. I am referring to two books, one published in 1962; namely, a translated reprint of an 18th century anti-Semitic tract entitled "Image of the Saints" now reissued in a large popular edition leaving the reader with the impression that he is confronted with a modern, up-to-date exposition of the case. The second book published in 1963, likewise in a large popular edition entitled "Catechism in Its True Colour" written by a certain Mr. Osipov.

"The Hebrews, rendered rebellious and fanatical by the antisocial principles of their religion, were always far from submissive to those that ruled over them. Elated by the vain tricks that their proests and visionaries performed, they became very difficult subjects and neighbors. Devoid of all morality and blinded by superstition, they considered holy and praiseworthy all and any means to put a stop to or palliate the evils which they had brought upon themselves. Although the idol worshipers were usually extremely tolerant of other cults, they found themselves forced to persecute the Jews, whose religion rendered them seditious, cruel, and hostile to all foreign powers. Such would appear to be the real cause of the persecution and ill treatment that the Jews had continuously to suffer at the hands of their pagan rulers. They were always

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restive under the foreign yoke and their visionaries did everything to encourage this undesirable disposition which could not but render them more unhappy. The Jews have always, due to their religion, been the enemies of the rest of mankind, so it is natural that mankind should always have been hostile to them and sought to do them harm." (Tableau des Saints by Paul Henri Thiry, Baron of Holbach, pp. 41–42.)

"We cannot therefore be surprised that such a people should always have been cruel, perfidious, rebellious, intolerant, and false, not that the fatal impetus in that direction, first given them by Moses and other fanatics, should have made their nature what it still is today. This depravity, sanctioned by religion, was the just cause of the sufferings, mishaps, and illtreatment undergone by Jews in nearly all the ages." (Tableau des Saints, by Paul Henri Thiry, Baron of Holbach, p. 43.)

"As a result of these religious principles, established by Moses and upheld by his successors, the Jews have always ignored the most fundamental moral obligations and principles of human law. Outside of their own circle nothing was sacred to them. Behavior that was intolerant, cruel, inhuman, theft, treachery, and perfidy were commanded as being agreeable to God. In a word, the Israelites were a people of brigands." (Tableau des Saints, by Paul Henri Thiry, Baron of Holbach, p. 69.)

"Where Jews are concerned, the main and only bloodsucker turns out to be God himself. As the Mighty One, he appropriates the lion's share of the catch, and first and foremost its 'strong' part—blood. He nourished himself with it, became strong at the expense of his earthly subjects, just like the immortal Kaschei of the Russian popular tales. Yes, the Jewish God resembles Kaschei both in character and actions." (Moscow Gospolitizdat—State Publishing House for Political Literature—1963, p. 276.)

"The first thing we come across is the preaching of intolerance, the bloody extermination of peoples of other faiths, the land of which the Jews themselves prepared to seize—God recommends real racial discrimination of the Jews." (Moscow Gospolitizdat—State Publishing House for Political Literature—1963, p. 281.)

In referring to the Ten Commandments, Mr. Osipov concludes:

"A greedy silver-loving clergy, afraid to leave a single piece on somebody else's plate."

Mr. Chairman, these are excerpts as I said, one from a book published in 1962, issued in 175,000 copies; the second written by Mr. Osipov, printed in 1963 and issued in 105,000 copies, both by the State Publishing House for Political Literature. Unfortunately there are publications of poisonous racial content in many countries, slandering Negroes, Jews, and other minorities, but nowhere with the exception of the country concerned are these publications sponsored or issued under the auspices of governments, by state publishing houses or national academies.

Mr. Chairman, I trust you will appreciate that if public opinion is thus guided by state publishing houses and national academies of science, there is indeed every reason for urgent alarm. We believe that the council would fail in its duty if taking them lightly.

May I come back for a moment to a point I referred to earlier in my remarks. I am referring to the acute human problem of reunion of families. The Second World War, the changes in international frontiers in Europe, and the general destruction and uprooting of European Jewry, caused thousands of families to be broken up, blown away, as it were, in different directions thousands of kilometers apart. The principle of reunion has been universally recognized and in many cases also in the area referred to is it implemented—for example, in the case of families of Polish, Armenian, and other nationalities. In the case of Jewish families, administrative and other hurdles still block the path for those who ardently desire to join their families in Israel or elsewhere.

It is high time, we believe, for the national authorities concerned most directly, as well as for the international community, to take constructive and urgent action so as to remedy an insufferable situation for millions of people gravely affected in their basic human, religious, and cultural rights. Their situation is, we are convinced, flagrantly incompatible with the spirit of our time and the convictions and desires of the family of nations.

[From Survey, August 1964]

THE STATUS OF JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

(Our constitution proclaims the equality of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality and race, and declares that "any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, or hatred, or contempt is punishable by law"—NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV.)

There are, officially, 108 nationalities in the Soviet Union. Under Soviet law Jews are formally recognized as a nationality group—the 11th largest in the U.S.S.R. A Jewish youth at 16 appears—as does every Soviet citizen—before the local registrar to obtain his internal "passport." This is a personal identity card which he will use the rest of his life; for education, work, residence, travel. It lists his nationality: Yevrei, for a Jew.[1]

The 16-year-old will provide the registrar with documents specifying the nationality of each of his parents. If both are Jewish, his nationality is the same. If his parents are of different nationalities, he has the option of choosing either one. Mixed marriages of this kind are atypical, so the option is not a significant factor in the Soviet population pattern.

Soviet Jewish population is just under 3 million

An official census[2] counted 2,268,000 Jews in the U.S.S.R.—1.09 percent of the Soviet population. Some observers contend that 3 million is a more accurate estimate; since census takers accepted a respondent's answers without checking his documents many Jews, particularly those married to non-Jews, could have suppressed their Jewish origin. But given the psychological factors that operate in Soviet society it is unlikely that a great number would hide the truth from an official census taker. The actual number of Jews is probably higher than the official statistics, but not as high as 3 million.

The Nazi barbarism of World War II decimated Soviet Jewry. A 1939 census recorded 3,020,000 Jews. During 1939–41, 1,900,000 were added through the U.S.S.R.'s annexations of Western lands. An estimated 2,500,000 were killed, dispersed, or otherwise lost during the war.

In urbanized areas, where 95 percent lives, the Jewish population rank is high, probably fifth.[3]

Most Jews reside in the three major Western republics: Russian Federation, 38 percent; Ukraine, 37 percent; Byelorussia, 7 percent. Another 15 percent lives in six other Soviet Republics; the remaining 95,000 are scattered in two Caucasus and four Central Asian republics.

There are, broadly speaking, three types of Jewish groups in the U.S.S.R.:

1. Those who have lived in the major Slavic republics since the October Revolution; they have been subject to the Russification process for almost two generations.

2. Those who live in territories annexed by the Soviet Union during 1939–41—Western Byelorussia, Galicia, Ruthenia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Bessarabia, and Bukovina. Less "communized," they have deeper awareness of their Jewish tradition.

3. The Eastern Jews of Bokhara, Daghestan, and Georgia. This is a group with an ancient lineage; here the Jewish religion is strong, although the Yiddish culture commonly associated with East European Jews does not exist.

In the 1959 census, 400,000 Jews—about 18 percent—listed Yiddish as their "native language." This is the lowest proportion among all Soviet nationalities that are identified with a national language. (Corresponding figures for other major Soviet nationalities range from 78 percent to the high nineties.) But the proportion who use Yiddish is understandably higher in the Western borderlands were Communist rule began in 1939–41. In Riga (Latvia) 48 percent of the Jews identified Yiddish as their language, in Vilna and Kovno (Lithuania) 69 percent. And according to a Soviet Jewish researcher, Yakov Kantor, the number using Yiddish in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia is higher than the 18-percent average for the U.S.S.R. Kantor's study also reports that many Jews who know and use Yiddish did not list it as their native language. "Many people who speak and read Yiddish, enjoy Yiddish books and appreciate Yiddish plays, nevertheless gave [to the census taker] Russian as their language since they spoke Russian at work, in the street and, to an extent, at home."[4]

In addition to according legal recognition to a Jewish nationality, the Soviet Union also formally recognizes the Jewish religion. The Council of Affairs of Religious Cults, a five-member government body, is charged with servicing the needs of non-Orthodox groups in the U.S.S.R. In 1960, a member of the council reported there were 500,000 observant Jews in the Soviet Union.

A dual community of religion and nationality

This dual character for the Jewish community is unique in Soviet society and makes for special difficulties. (Other minority religious groups—Catholics, Baptists, Moslems, Lutherans, Buddhists—are not linked directly to a nationality.) An attack upon Judaism by an atheistically oriented Communist Party can hardly avoid being interpreted by the Soviet people, particularly Soviet Jews, as an attack upon the Jewish nationality.

Two other characteristics distinguish the Jewish community from most Soviet minorities.

First, its dispersal throughout the U.S.S.R. Efforts in the 1930's to establish an autonomous Jewish republic in Birobidjan by encouraging Jewish migration there foundered on the indifference of Soviet Jews for whom the area held little attraction and no historical sentiment. Today, only 14,000 Jews, less than 9 percent of its population, live in Birobidjan.

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[1] In March 1964 Premier Khrushchev indicated that the internal passport may be superseded by "a labor identification document" which would not emphasize nationality.

[2] January 1959.

[3] Only Russians, Ukrainians and probably Byelorussians and Tatars have more city dwellers.

[4] Bleter far Gesichte XV (1962–63), published in Warsaw, 1964. Kantor uses the oft-quoted figure of 20.8 percent as the ratio of Jews who reported Yiddish as their "native language." The difference in figures is attributable to the fact that the "native" language" of Jews living in Georgia, Daghestan and Central Asia is a language other than Yiddish. In any case, the Yiddish-speaking element in the U.S.S.R., as Kantor shows, is much greater than the census figure suggest

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Second, Soviet Jewry's ties of peoplehood, through religion and folklore, with a world Jewry that is concentrated in Western lands. This tends to make Soviet Jews vulnerable in the suspicious eyes of the Russians, a suspicion heightened by the East-West cold war.

Soviet Jews cannot escape being apprehensive about their vulnerability. They remember the post-war years when the Stalinist mania for what is now called the cult of personality expressed itself, among other ways, in anti-Jewish terror. It began in 1948 with an anticosmopolitan campaign in the press that implied many Jews were disloyal. Yiddish institutions were dismantled and the Jewish cultural movement was stifled. In 1952, 26 leading Jewish intellectuals were secretly tried and executed. During the "black years" of 1948–53 hundreds of Jewish leaders were sent to concentration camps, from which many never returned. Others were removed from their jobs. The despair among Soviet Jews was so intense that many had their belongings packed, expecting exile to the Far East. The climax came in January, 1953 when, after 4 years of heightened and stimulated suspicion against Jews, Pravda helped create a pogram atmosphere by charging that Jewish murder-physicians had planned to assassinate Soviet military and civilian leaders in a doctors' plot.

After Stalin's death, exposure of the plot as a hoax ended the physical threat to Jews. But the fears still linger, especially since the present regime has made only half-hearted efforts to condemn the anti-Semitic aspects of the black years and rehabilitate its victims.

I. THE DENIAL OF CULTURAL RIGHTS

The Soviet Union takes pride in its nationality policy. When he addressed the United Nations General Assembly in September 1960, Premier Khrushchev made a special point of describing its achievements, particularly the transformation into an advanced social and cultural status of backward nationality groups that had been kept in subjugation in the czar's prison of nations.

Yiddish culture flourished until late in the 1930's

In the early days of the U.S.S.R., the Council of People's Commissars laid down the principle of free development of the national minorities and ethnographic groups which live within Soviet Russia. There were regulations guaranteeing to national minorities the right to their own language, to have it taught in schools, published in newspapers and used in the courts, and to develop individual cultures that would be national in form and socialist in content. These rights, for the most part, have been implemented, even for the 12,000 Chukchi, smallest nationality group in the Soviet Union.

The Jews are the singular exception. They are denied the cultural institutions—schools, theaters, press, literature—enjoyed by virtually every other national minority.

This was not always so. In the 1920's and 1930's there was an extensive system of Yiddish schools. As late as 1940 (notwithstanding a continuing decline just before World War II it enrolled 90,000 youngsters. Since the 1940's there has not been a single Yiddish or Hebrew school in the entire U.S.S.R.[5]

In the 1930's there were almost a score of permanent Jewish theatrical companies. Directors and actors were trained in the Jewish Department of the Kiev Dramatic Institute and at the Jewish Theater College in Moscow and the Jewish State Theater in Minsk. The Yiddish Art Theater in Moscow, ranked among the best Soviet dramatic theaters, was closed down by Stalin in 1949, its leading actor, Solomon Mikhoels, having been murdered in 1948 by the secret police. There is no permanent Yiddish theater in the U.S.S.R. today.[6] By contrast, the 130,000 Gypsies in the Soviet Union have one in Moscow, and the Government of Communist Poland, where only 30,000 Jews remain, still maintains the famous Kaminska Yiddish Theater of Warsaw.

A Yiddish press and literature once flourished in the U.S.S.R. Prior to World War II there were three daily newspapers and five literary journals. In 1948 all of them disappeared. There is no longer any Yiddish daily.[7] But the Maris, a small nationality group (504,000 population), has 7 newspapers; the Yakuts (236,000) have 10.

In August 1961, Sovietish Heimland, a bimonthly literary review, began publication—the first Yiddish magazine to appear in the U.S.S.R. in 14 years. The idea had been discussed for 8 years. The magazine began with a limited press run of 25,000 copies. The likelihood is that it would never have appeared except for outside pressures challenging the discriminatory Soviet policy toward Yiddish culture. Soviet Minister of Culture Yekaterina Furtseva told Andre Blumel, vice chairman of the Franco-Soviet Friendship Society, that if the Soviet Union did anything at all for Yiddish culture "it would not be for domestic reasons but to please our friends abroad." [8]

Some critics at first dismissed Sovietish Heimland as a forum for Communist literature with little material about Jewish life in the Soviet Union or abroad. But an analysis of its first 3 years shows 320 articles by some 100 Jewish authors, and many of the stories and poems have meaningful Jewish content. In the absence of any other Jewish secular institution, the magazine has established itself as a focal point of Yiddish activity, organizing a number of discussions and conferences, one of which was attended by 700 persons. The Soviet's Union of Writers has expressed satisfaction with Sovietish Heimland, and recently its size has been increased to meet a growing interest.

During 1933–37 a single Yiddish publishing house turned out 852 books (6,250,000 copies). In 1939, 339 Yiddish books were published. Between 1948 and 1959—none. Since then 5 Yiddish works—30,000 copies of each—have been authorized.[9] None is by a living Soviet writer. No work has appeared during the last 2 years. By comparison, 49 books were published in 1962 in the Mari language; 109 in the Yakut language. Among larger nationalities (but not as large as the Jewish group) there were 6,080 books published in Uzbek between 1946 and 1956, 4,548 in Kazakh.

Yiddish concerts are the single cultural medium still widely prevalent, and they have a standing room only popularity. The Ministry of Culture reported that in 1957 alone there were 3,000 such concerts, averaging 1,000 paid admissions each—a total attendance (Jews and non-Jews) of 3 million. Between June 1960 and June 1961, says Sovietish Heimland Editor Aron Vergelis, more than 300,000 Jews attended concerts featuring the few active Yiddish artists such as the famed Nechama Lifshutz.[10] When Jan Peerce, the Metropolitan Opera tenor, performed in the Soviet Union in May 1963 he drew sell-out houses and thunderous ovations for his Hebrew and Yiddish songs.

Jewish folklore is denied the freedom to perpetuate

About 40 Jewish folksongs have been recorded and released by the Ministry of Culture. A book of 150 folksongs, printed in Yiddish and Russian, has been published (but in an edition of only a few hundred copies). A conference of Jewish composers and artists held late in 1961 in the offices of Sovietish Heimland dealt with the future of Jewish music in the U.S.S.R. According to a report from Moscow, the discussion centered on the need to introduce themes of the present into Jewish songs.

Notwithstanding their immense popularity, "one wonders how long the concerts can continue," writes journalist Maurice Hindus, a close observer of the Soviet scene. "The performers are nearly all former actors and actresses of Yiddish theaters. They are advanced in years and there is no school to train young talent. In a country that has earnestly dedicated itself to convert folklore into one of the great arts of our times, Jews are the only people deprived of the opportunity to perpetuate their folklore. There is no Jewish clubhouse anywhere in the Soviet Union, not a single theatrical school to train professional performers. When the performers of today pass from life, they will carry with them to their graves the one cultural heritage that the Soviets allow." [11]

How do Soviet authorities justify their dismantling of Jewish cultural life? One explanation they give is that Jewish dispersal in Soviet Russia means a burdensome cost to finance cultural institutions. Khrushchev told a vistior, Prof. Jerome Davis: [12]

"If we have 7-year schools for Jews in the Jewish language, where could the graduates go? We would have to establish 10-year schools and special universities for them. The Jews are dispersed and engulfed in the culture where they live. If they want to create a state within our borders, like Birobidjan, nobody is against this. But to set up separate schools all over Russia would be expensive."

Since most Soviet nationalities are concentrated in their own territories, it simplifies the development of their cultural institutions. Yet the Soviet Government has not been unwilling to encourage the cultural growth of small nationalities. The Tadzhik minority that lives in the Uzbek Republic and Poles living in Byelorussia and Lithuania are secure in their cultural rights. Since 1955, more than 1 million Volga Germans (who in 1941 were forcibly transported to Siberia and the Urals, then allowed to reestablish themselves after the war), have had German-language schools, a weekly journal published in Moscow, a newspaper published in the Altai region. In Russian schools where German children are enrolled,

[5] Ironically, a new 766-page Hebrew-Russian dictionary, compiled by the late Prof. F. L. Shapiro, was recently published in Moscow.

[6] In 1962 a traveling troupe headed by Benjamin Schwartser toured the Ukraine and Central Asia for 2 months, then, in February 1963, played four performances in Moscow of Sholem Aleichem's Tevye, the Milkman in Yiddish. An audience of 800 cheered the opening night.

[7] Birobidjaner Shtern, a small triweekly of 1,500 circulation, is published in Yiddish in Birobidjan. For a time, thousands of Soviet Jews subscribed to the Yiddish language Die Folksstimme, published in Warsaw. Soviet authorities halted the practice.

[8] They met in Moscow in 1960. Gen. David Dragunsky, a Soviet spokesman on Jewish issues, made the same admission when he was interviewed in Paris a year later. Discussing the few Yiddish books that had been published, the General said: "Frankly speaking, they are being published more for political reasons than in answer to a real need."

[9] One additional work—a compilation of pieces of former Birobidjan Jewish writers—has also been approved.

[10] There was also an amateur Jewish choral group of 100 in Riga that reportedly disbanded in late 1963. A small choral group performs in Vilna. Recently a Yiddish concert troupe was formed in Leningrad.

[11] "House Without a Roof," 1961.

[12] 1957.

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the German language is taught. Radio stations in Alma Ata and Tselinograd carry regular German language programs.

Another justification given by the Soviets is that Jews are assimilating and do not want to retain a Yiddish culture. "Even if Jewish schools were established, very few would attend them voluntarily," Khrushchev told a delegation of French Socialists in 1956. "A university in the Yiddish language could never be established, there would not be a sufficient number of students. With regard to Yiddish or Hebrew, there is no demand for their use in the state administration and in Soviet institutions. If the Jews were compelled to attend Jewish schools there would certainly be a revolt. It would be considered some kind of ghetto. The Jewish theater pined away for lack of audiences." [13]

The assimilatory process has undoubtedly affected large numbers of Jews. But the stubborn fact is that 18 percent of Soviet Jewry (in Western areas the ratio is much higher) considers Yiddish its native tongue, and many more understand and appreciate it. A leading Soviet linguist, M. Friedberg, challenged as "wholly incorrect" an article in the Soviet Encyclopedia which claimed Yiddish is disappearing and the Soviet Jewish minority is on the road to complete linguistic assimilation. Friedberg pointed specifically to compact Jewish communities in the Ukraine and Byelorussia as centers of Yiddish speech. The hundreds of thousands of Jews who flock to the Yiddish concerts and the brisk sale of the few Yiddish books and publications available similarly testify to the vitality of the language.

More pertinent, perhaps, is the apparent determination of Soviet authorities to vitiate the high degree of Jewish consciousness that still exists. Since 1948 the Soviet Government has followed a policy—with only slight modification in the last few years—of suppressing any institutional framework that might invigorate and sustain a Yiddish culture. The new program of the Soviet Communist Party speaks of the ultimate Communist objective as the effacement of national distinctions * * * including language distinctions, but it also emphasizes that, for the time being, the party must guarantee the complete freedom of each citizen of the U.S.S.R. to speak and to rear and educate his children in any language, ruling out all privileges, restrictions, or compulsion in the use of this or that language. This freedom obviously does not extend to Jews.

Soviets shrug off the 6 million martyrs

There are other tactics with which Soviet leadership seeks to erase a consciousness of the Jewish past. Soviet textbooks pointedly failed to mention the cultural contributions of Jews, although the culture of other minorities is treated liberally. The first edition of the "Large Soviet Encyclopedia," carried 116 pages about Jews. The second and present edition reduced this to two pages.[14] The martyrdom of Soviet Jews during the Nazi era is given little attenion. Babi Yar, the site near Kiev of the mass annihilation of 100,000 Jews by the Nazis, was to have been commemorated with a memorial. This was abandoned; instead there were reports that a park and stadium were to be built on the site of the massacre. A distinguished Soviet writer, Viktor Nekrasov, asked in Literaturnaia Gazeta: [15]

"Is this possible? Who could have thought of such a thing? To fill a ravine and on the site of such a colossal tragedy to make merry and play football? No, this must not be allowed."

Poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko stung official indifference to Jewish martyrdom when he recited his new poem, "Babi Yar," before a mass meeting of 1,500 persons: [16]

"There are no monuments over Babi Yar
The steep slope is the only gravestone.
* * * * *
"The trees look sternly like judges.
Everything here shrieks silently."

Officialdom struck back. One Soviet writer, Alexei Markov, questioned Yevtushenko's patriotism, insisting the poet had defiled Russian crewcut lads who had died in battle against the Nazis. Another critic, Dmitri Starikov, denounced Yevtushenko's poem as a provocation and a monstrous insult to the Soviet people. The poet was warned against taking further steps into a foul, swampy quagmire.

Khrushchev had the final word. On March 8, 1963, at a Kremlin meeting of artists and writers, he justified the criticism, saying Yevtushenko "did not display political maturity and showed ignorance of the historical facts." Khrushchev also complained that the poem was oriented to a national martyrdom whereas Communists must approach situations from a class viewpoint.[17]

It would be wrong to say that Soviet authorities have completely ignored the fact of Jewish martyrdom. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko made a moving speech on the theme 16 years ago at the U.N. General Assembly. A leading Soviet publicist and playwright, A. Korneichuk, spoke of it in an address before the Supreme Soviet in 1962.[18] A few Soviet novelists—Vladimir Belyayev, Vadim Kozhevnikov, Vladimir Bondarets—have also dealt with the theme, and 2 years ago the Soviet Latvian Republic produced a documentary film on the liquidation of the Minsk Jewish community. There have been several Soviet trials of Nazi collaborators who had a hand in the extermination of Jews, and Soviet authorities made evidence of anti-Jewish war crimes available to a West German court in Coblenz.

But these are sprinkled exceptions. The customary Soviet attitude is to shrug off or ignore the martyrdom of 6 million Jews. Or, as with Yevtushenko, condemn those who recall its grim tragedies. The Eichmann trial was deliberately played down in the Soviet press.[19] The "Diary of Anne Frank," a worldwide stage hit, "literally brought the house down"—the quote is from Tass, the Soviet news agency—when it was finally performed in Moscow last year by a visiting Italian repertory group. It has had no other performances in the Soviet Union. The repertory company, which gave five performances each of its other scheduled plays, was limited to two showings of the Anne Frank play, and then "only after considerable negotiations with Soviet authorities." [20] Last year's 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising was similarly minimized (except in Sovietish Heimland which gave it a special section). An Izvestia article on the anniversary was little more than an attack on West Germany. Sponsors of a great commemoration in Warsaw (where some 900 foreign delegates assembled) were disappointed by the absence of any official Soviet delegation. A single Soviet citizen, a member of the editorial board of Sovietish Heimland, attended.

A UNESCO convention adopted in 1960 requires contracting states to respect "the right of national minorities to carry on their own educational activites, including the maintenance of schools, and * * * the use or the teaching of their own language." The Soviet Union, though a contracting state, has yet to live up to its promise so far as the Jewish nationality is concerned. In the same way it has failed to live up to its commitments, formalized in constitutional statutes and party programs, to assure the Jewish community, as it does other ethnic groups, the means of national and cultural expression.

II. THE SUPPRESSION OF JUDAISM

The Soviet Communist Party, firmly committed to scientific materialism, conducts a vigorous ideological and propaganda campaign against all religions. But this must be distinguished from the obligations of the Soviet Government toward religious groups, since the Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom of worship. A leading authority on religion in the Soviet Union, Prof. John Curtiss, in a careful analysis published in 1960, found that the Soviet Government turns a benevolent face toward most of the religious organizations of the U.S.S.R. There is one notable exception—Judaism.

Judaism is denied same status of other faiths

The Russian Orthodox Church has been particularly favored.[21] Since World War II it has been able to open seminaries, monasteries and parish churches, and its clerical activities have expanded in many directions. Leading Orthodox prelates are granted official privileges, including invitations to important state functions. Testifying to what Professor Curtiss calls Russian Orthodoxy's robust existence were 35,000 priests and 20,000 parish churches organized into 73 dioceses, each headed by a metropolitan, archbishop, or bishop. There were also 69 monasteries and convents, 2 theological academies and 8 seminaries with (as of 1956) 1,500 students.[22]

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[13] Anastas Mikoyan repeated this theme before the U.N. Correspondents' Association (January 5, 1959), arguing: "The Jewish population has merged with Russians in Russian culture so fully that Jews participate in general culture and literature, on the Russian stage and in Russian literature. There are many Jewish writers who consider themselves Russian and prefer to write in Russian."

And Madam Furtseva told Blumel (January 1961) that the move toward assimilation is so great, Jews "may feel hurt if we push them toward Yiddish."

[14] Surprisingly, the new Ukrainian Encyclopedia, with 8 of its projected 16 volumes already published, devotes considerable space to Jewish writers and literature, the Yiddish language and the Jewish people generally, including a lengthy account of the history of Jews in the Ukraine going back to the 10th century. Also, a new Short Literary Encyclopedia, the first volume of which appeared in 1962, carries lengthy and sympathetic articles on a great number of Jewish writers, including those who, like Chaim Bialik, wrote principally in Hebrew.

[15] Oct. 10, 1959.

[16] Sept. 16, 1961, in Moscow. "Babi Yar" was later printed in Literaturnaia Gazeta.

[17] To illustrate this Khrushchev related a series of episodes in which various Jews, some "good" and some "bad" from a Communist viewpoint, stood on opposite sides of the class struggle. He concluded with a story in questionable taste in which a Jew named Kogan was supposed to have served as a translator in the headquarters of Nazi Field Marshall Von Paulus and, by contrast, another Jew, Vinokur, was political commissar of a brigade that took part in Von Paulus' capture.

[18] Two years earlier (Jan. 14, 1960) Khrushchev, in a speech to the Supreme Soviet, quoted a letter from Lord Russell to the London Times that made reference to Nazi persecution of Jews.

[19] Although the trial was extensively reported in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

[20] The New York Times, Apr. 12, 1963.

[21] "The Russian Orthodox Church—Organization, Situation, Activity," a large handsome work published by the Moscow Patriarchate in 1959, graphically illustrates this.

[22] A significant decline in the number of Orthodox churches and institutions during the past 2 years has been reported by Protestant leaders.

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The same privileged status favors the Georgian Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox churches.

The Baptist denomination has also been "flourishing" in the Soviet Union, Professor Curtiss reported. U.S.S.R., an official Soviet journal, tended to confirm this in an article that told of 5,500 Baptist parishes, each with its own minister, deacon or preacher, and a total membership of 540,000.[23]

The Lutherans, centered in Estonia and Latvia, have 350,000 congregants and (as of 1956) about 100 churches and 150 pastors.

Roman Catholicism has an extensive structure in Lithuania with 740 priests[24] and in Latvia with 126 priests.[25] There is a Catholic seminary in Riga, another in Kaunas. Two bishops were consecrated in 1955, a third in 1957.

Islam also enjoys considerable status in the U.S.S.R. On several occasions the Soviet Government has made air transport available to fly large Moslem delegations from central Asia, the Caucasus and other Soviet areas to Mecca and back.

The Soviets permit, even facilitate, exchange visits between native and foreign delegations of the Orthodox Churcn, and of Protestant and Islamic groups. They have even been favorably disposed toward the establishment of permanent or semipermanent institutional relationships. Thus, the Russian Orthodox Church, through a special department, has regular relations with Orthodox churches in other countries and in 1962, by its admittance to membership into the World Council of Churches, strengthened its ties with many Protestant denominations. In recent years, Orthodox clergymen have traveled on official tours to Western countries.

Similarly, there are close official contacts between Russian Baptists and their coreligionists abroad. A Soviet Baptist leader has publicly reported that his church maintains contacts with almost all the Protestant denominations in the world and that its representatives have attended many international congresses of the Baptists and other Protestant groups.[26] Soviet authorities permit Baptist seminarians, to engage in advanced study in England, Canada, and Sweden.

For years, Soviet Moslems have been associated with a World Congress of Moslems. In October 1962 a conference of Soviet Moslem leaders, meeting in Tashkent, was authorized to establish a permanent department for international relations, with headquarters in Moscow. The Soviet radio reported that delegations from Lebanon, the United Arab Republic, Guinea and Senegal had attended a Moslem conference in the Soviet Union and that a delegation of Soviet Moslems had participated in an international Islamic congress in Baghdad.[27] It also reported that a number of Soviet Moslem youths were studying at Al Azhar, a major Islamic center of learning in the United Arab Republic, and in Morocco.

Religious contacts and cooperative enterprises of this nature are denied to Jews. No delegation of observant Soviet Jews has ever been permitted to visit its counterparts abroad. Jewish religious bodies outside the Soviet Union are not allowed official contact with Soviet synagogues. A gift by the Synagogue Council of America of miniature Scrolls of Law to Rabbi Yehuda Leib Levin, chief rabbi of Moscow, had to be delivered through the intermediary of a Russian Orthodox delegation that was touring in the United States.[28] Moscow's Jews have been warned against having contacts with Israel diplomats or other visiting Jews who might come for prayer in the synagogue.[29] The warning followed the arrest and conviction of Jewish religious leaders in Leningrad and Moscow on charges that included contacts with Israel diplomats.

USSR has never allowed a printing of Hebrew Bible

It is Soviet policy to restrict even internal contact among its Jewish congregations. Other major religions in the Soviet Union are allowed to organize congresses and conferences of religious or lay leaders, and to maintain central organizations—the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christian-Baptists, the National Ecclesiastical Assembly of the Armenian Church, the Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia, the Moslem Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan—that service a variety of religious needs. Judaism, on the other hand, is deprived of any instrument that could help coordinate or unite the Jewish group. There is no central federation of synagogues or council of rabbis. Jewish religious life is atomized, each congregation operating on its own and having no official contact with any other Jewish congregation. The Russian Orthodox Church publishes a central organ, the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate; the Baptists have their Brotherly Herald; for Soviet Jews, no religious periodical exists.

There are other official Soviet actions, clearly discriminatory, designed to stifle Judaism. Since 1917 the government has not permitted publication of a Hebrew Bible. Yet in 1957 the Russian Orthodox were able to print 50,000 copies of a 1926 edition of their Bible; a year later there were press runs of 10,000 Russian-language copies of a Baptist Bible and 9,000 copies of the Koran in Arabic (a language of religious study not spoken by Soviet Moslems).[30]

Prayer books are available in relatively sufficient quantities for the major religions—except Judaism.[31] For the religious Jew, a siddur (prayer book) is a rare and precious possession. Until 1958, when a pitiful 3,000 copies were run off, none had been printed in the Soviet Union. A New York Times correspondent who attended Yom Kippur services last year in Moscow's Central Synagogue reported only a "few lucky owners of prayer books" among the "overflow crowd of several thousand worshippers."[32]

Even so innocuous an item as a luach (Jewish calendar listing festival dates) is not readily available to Soviet Jews. They have had to depend on photographed copies of calendars laboriously made by hand.[33] Most religious groups are allowed to produce crucifixes, candles and other devotional articles. But the manufacture of Jewish religious articles such as the tallit (prayer shawl) and tfilin (phylacteries) is forbidden.

So, too, in recent years, is the baking of matzo for Passover. In a report filed July 11, 1956, with the United Nations, the Soviet Union offered solemn assurances that it makes matzo available for observant Jews. But a year later, restrictions on the public baking of matzo began to appear, the first of these in Kharkov, a city with 70,000 Jews. In succeeding years, the ban spread to other cities; by 1962 it blanketed almost all of the U.S.S.R.,[34] extending even to synagogues in Leningrad, Riga and Kiev, which have their own equipment for baking matzo. On March 16, 1963, the Chief Rabbi of Moscow formally announced that authorities had banned matzo baking on a community basis. He advised Jews to attempt to bake matzo in their own homes.[35]

Prior to the Passover this year, the Moscow Jewish community was permitted to rent a small bakery for the production of matzo. The amount produced over the course of the few days that the bakery was allowed to operate was 8,000 pounds—a completely inadequate quantity for observant Moscow Jews. Meanwhile, with the encouragement of the authorities, Jewish communities abroad sent in 90,000 pounds of matzo. But most parcels remained unclaimed in the customs warehouses: Soviet Jews had been frightened off by newspaper accounts in national and provincial newspapers which charged that the foreign parcels constituted "ideological subversion." Only a small percentage of Jews had matzo; the others were given a special dispensation by the Chief Rabbi to use beans and peas instead.

Observers report that the synagogue is "the sorriest house of worship in the Soviet Union"[36] and, in the last few years, there has been a drastic decline in the number of Soviet synagogues. According to official figures submitted to the United Nations in 1956, there were then 450 synagogues in the U.S.S.R. In 1959 the Soviet Government reported only 150 synagogues. In April 1963 the Chief Rabbi was quoted in an official Soviet publication that 96 synagogues remain.[37] Thus, since Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalinism at the 20th Party Congress, four-fifths of all Soviet synagogues has been shut down, 50 of them during the past 4 years.

Soviet policy toward the synagogue—padlock it

Synagogues in Sverdlovsk, Zhitomir, Kazan, Grozny, Zhmerinka, Belaya Tserkov, Kaunas, and Lvov—cities with sizable Jewish populations—have been padlocked in the last 2 years. The sanctuary of the synagogue in Minsk, an historic edifice, was demolished in July 1963. A New York Herald Tribune correspondent, visiting it, found that the sanctuary had been converted to a warehouse. A one-story extension, reached through a rickety wooden shed in an alley where chickens were kept, functioned as the sanctuary. The Jews at prayer there, the correspondent wrote, wore "shabby, homemade prayer shawls" and read from "ancient tattered prayer books."[38]

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[23] June 1963 issue.

[24] 1954 statistics.

[25] 1959 statistics.

[26] U.S.S.R., June 1963.

[27] April 1963.

[28] The delegation visited the United States in April 1963. Efforts by the Synagogue Council to invite the Chief Rabbi to visit the United States have been futile.

[29] February 1962. The warning was repeated in October and Jewish congregants in Moscow were told to avoid "shaking hands with visitors generally."

[30] In 1962 another edition of the Koran was published by the Moslem Board of Central Asia.

[31] In 1956, 25,000 copies of the Baptist hymnal were printed. The Lutherans are now preparing a new edition of their hymnal.

[32] The New York Times, Sept. 29, 1963.

[33] In one of their rare, sometimes unexplained shifts, the Soviets last September authorized the Moscow synagogue to print 5,000 Jewish calendars.

[34] The only known exceptions appear to have been in Georgia and in some parts of central Asia.

[35] Four elderly Jews who tried ran afoul of the authorities. On July 16, 1963, they were convicted of illegal profiteering in the sale of matzoh—the first trial of its kind in 45 years, according to the Chief Rabbi. Three of the accused had been held in prison for several months awaiting trial. An 82-year-old man, ludicrously described as the ringleader, was allowed to remain at home. The defense attorney, in his summation, reminded the court that "all churches sell candles and wafers at high prices, and nobody holds them for criminal responsibility.

"Those accused did it not for profit but for their religious beliefs; they used no hired labor, they distributed the production which they didn't use themselves." But all four were found guilty.

[36] Hindus, "House Without a Roof."

[37] U.S.S.R., April 1963.

[38] New York Herald Tribune, June 26, 1963.

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The closing of a synagogue generally is preceded by an intense press campaign of suspicion and hostility. The synagogue in the old Jewish center of Chernovtsy (Bukovina) was locked after the local newspaper charged that it was used for shady profiteering agreements.[39] The great synagogue of Lvov, with a glorious tradition, was closed on November 5, 1962, after a year-long press campaign charging it with being a center for currency speculators and their criminal machinations.[40]

Some Jews have taken to private minyanim (quorums of at least 10 required to conduct a service) in their homes. But in the past 2 years there have been police drives to discourage these.[41]

The discouragement of Judaism is further intensified by the lack of training facilities to replace a fast-aging rabbinate. There are now only about 60 rabbis in the U.S.S.R. Until 1957, when a Yeshiva was established in Moscow for 20 students, there was no Jewish theological seminary in all of the Soviet Union. Since then only two students have been ordained and neither functions as a synagogue leader. Of the 13 students enrolled in the shabby, rundown Yeshiva in April 1962, 11 were over 40 years of age. At that time, nine of the students, who came from communities in Georgia and Daghestan, were prevented from resuming their studies because of, said the authorities, a housing shortage in Moscow. That left an enrollment of four seminarians in all of the U.S.S.R.[42] Judaism in the Soviet Union will soon be without trained leadership.

Other Jewish facilities are being forced out of existence. The only kosher butcher shop in Moscow was temporarily closed by the authorities in the summer of 1962 on the grounds that it did not conform to sanitary regulations.[43] The Jewish section of the old Moscow cemetery is filled, but repeated appeals by the chief rabbi and other Jewish leaders for an enclave to be set aside and consecrated for Jewish burials in a new municipal cemetry have been rejected. This pattern is likely to be repeated in other cities.

Although the Soviet Communist Party continues to propagandize against religion, generally seeking to achieve "the final and complete eradication of religious prejudices," [44] it is supposed to be guided by a policy resolution of its Central Committee, adopted November 1, 1954, and calling for a tactful and considerate attitude toward those who still remain under the influence of various religious beliefs. The resolution specifically warns against putting Soviet citizens under political suspicion because of their religious convictions. In the party's propaganda war against Judaism, these caveats appear to be observed in the breach.

Judaism is attacked and satirized in U.S.S.R. press

Feuilletons (satirical articles) often appear, particularly in the Soviet provincial press, savagely attacking Judaism.[45] The rite of circumcision is denounced as barbarous, the "Kol Nidre" prayer of Yom Kippur is condemned as encouraging disobedience to state authority. Synagogue leaders are depicted as money worshippers who use the religious service, kosher slaughtering, religious burial, matzoth baking and other ritual practices to exploit a duped congregation.[46]

Much of the propaganda depicts Judaism as being in the service of a foreign power, thereby attaching to the observant Jew the stigma of disloyalty. This excerpt from a Ukrainian language radio broadcast from Kirovograd, is not unusual:

"Judaic sermons are the sermons of bourgeois Zionists. Such sermons are tools in the hands of the nationalistic, Israeli cosmopolitan and American bourgeoisie. With their tentacles, the Jewish bourgeois nationalists, making use of Judaism, try to penetrate into our Soviet garden." [47]

Three other examples of the disloyalty theme:

"The chauvinistic Passover slogans stand in contradiction to the feeling of Soviet patriotism and boundless love to the socialist motherland." [48]

"Judaism kills love for the Soviet motherland." [49]

"The character of the Jewish religion thus serves the political aims of the Zionist—the awakening of a nationalistic frame of mind." [50]

A lengthy article in Trud castigated the synagogue as a place where Israel diplomats are alleged to have extracted espionage information from disloyal Soviet Jews.[51] Another article carried a massive attack on three religious Jews who were accused of having had contacts wth the Israel Embassy in Moscow. "Avarice, groveling servility before everything foreign, spiritual waste, lack of pride in our great motherland—these impel the Chernukhins, Roginskys, and the Sheyfers into the embraces of sometimes not entirely blameless foreigners," said Trud.[52] Synagogue leaders in Leningrad and Moscow have been convicted and given stiff sentences on charges of betraying state secrets to Israel.

The new program of the Communist Party, adopted at its 22d congress, calls for a stepped-up program of overcoming "religious prejudices" by systematically * * * conduct [ing] broad scientific-atheist propaganda. On March 2, 1964, the party central committee spelled out the details of the intensified campaign. It can be expected that in this antireligious campaign Judaism will continue to be singled out for condemnation and the loyalty of its leaders questioned.

III. DISCRIMINATION AND THE SOVIET JEW

The Soviet Constitution specifically prohibits "any direct or indirect restriction of the rights * * * of citizens on account of their race or nationality." But for the Jewish citizen the promise of Soviet law is not always the practice in Soviet reality.

Quota system is common practice at universities

There is no indication that the Jew is discriminated against in housing or public accommodations. He has open access to hotels, resorts, clubs, and other public facilities. But in higher education—the key to advancement in Soviet society—the situation is not so favorable. Soviet officials do not publicly acknowledge or discuss quota systems in university admission practices. But they exist. A study of Soviet education by Nicholas DeWitt, a specialist formerly at the Harvard Russian Research Center, finds that quotas operate on the principle of "equivalent balance." This means "the representation of any national or ethnic grouping in overall higher education enrollment should be as the relation of the size of that group to total U.S.S.R. population. Those nationalities whose higher educational development 'ought to be fostered' get preferential admission quotas, while those who are 'over-represented' are curtailed accordingly." [53]

On the basis of elaborate computations drawn from Soviet data, DeWitt shows that the quota system operates "to the particularly severe disadvantage of the Jewish population." Between 1935 and 1958, his computations reveal, "the index of representation rose for most nationalities, but fell for Georgians and all national minorities, with a very drastic decline for the Jews." DeWitt concludes:

"The setting of admission quotas undoubtedly penalized the Jewish population, with its significant urban concentration and higher level of educational attainment, more heavily than other minor nationality groups with more diversified occupational and rural-urban distribution."

Soviet Minister of Higher and Secondary Education V. P. Yelyutin denied that the Soviet Union discriminates or maintains quota systems against Jews in education.[54] Yelyutin insisted that Jews, constituting 2 percent of the Soviet population, were 10 percent of the enrollment in Soviet universities. This was disputed by Dr. Solomon Schwarz, a prominent scholar and author of "The Jews in the Soviet Union," who cited official Soviet data to prove "the number of Jews among the students of all Soviet institutions of higher education could reach only little more than 4 percent." [55] A 1961 Soviet statistical handbook on higher education not only corroborates this but suggests that even Dr. Schwarz' estimates were high. The handbook reports 2,395,000 students, 77,000 of them Jews. The ratio of Jews is therefore closer to 3 percent—a plummeting drop from 1935 when it was 13 percent.

Despite this drastic decline, Jewish university enrollment, on a population basis, still ranks highest among nationality groups. But it is clear that the quota system compels the Jewish student to perform at a much higher level of achievement than his non-Jewish colleagues if he is to get equal recognition. A Leningrad professor is quoted by Maurice Hindus that a Jew must be especially gifted, "something like a genius, to be admitted to aspirantura (postgraduate work)." [56]

The pattern of discrimination is an uneven one. Jews find it less difficult to be admitted to Leningrad University than to Moscow University. Siberian schools are even less discriminatory. Siberia, writes Hindus, is in the throes of gigantic development and the demand for specialists in all fields is so pressing that universities and technological institutes will overlook it if an applicant is Jewish. However, in most of the Soviet Republics (except for the RSFSR, the Ukraine, the Byelorussia), the representation of Jews among

[39] Quoted in "Jews in Eastern Europe," December 1962.

[40] "Lvovskaia Pravda," Feb. 16, 1962, and Oct. 26, 1962.

[41] During Rosh Hashana 1962, a minyan held in a house on January 21st Street in Kharkov was dispersed by the police; on Yom Kippur, another in Kolomea. On Feb. 23, 1963, a Sabbath minyan in Gomel was brutally disrupted.

[42] Since then, the number has dropped to two or three students.

[43] Later it was permitted to reopen.

[44] Pravda, Aug. 21, 1959.

[45] These are provincial areas with fairly large Jewish populations and long traditions of anti-Semitism.

[46] A typical example from Minskaia Pravda (Apr. 4, 1961): "Money. That is the God of the Minsk Jewish religious community and their aids." Another is from the book, "Judaism Without Embellishment," published in December 1963 by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences: "What is the Jew's secular cult? Business. What is his secular God? Money. Money, that is the jealous God of Israel."

[47] Dec. 9, 1959, monitored by BBC.

[48] "The Origin and Class Essence of Jewish Rituals and Holidays," published 1961 by the Society for the Diffusion of Political and Scientific Knowledge in the Ukraine.

[49] "Sovietskaia Moldavia (Kishinev) July 23, 1959.

[50] "Volzhskaia Kommuna" (Kuibyshev), Sept. 30, 1961.

[51] Jan. 19, 1962.

[52] June 9, 1963.

[53] DeWitt, "Education and Professional Employment in the U.S.S.R.," 1961. A recent Soviet publication, Vestnik Vysshei Shkoly (December 1963), acknowledges the existence of "preferential admission quotas."

[54] The New York Times, Sept. 29, 1959.

[55] Letter to the New York Times, Oct 3. 1959.

[56] Hindus, "House Without a Roof."

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university students is well below the rate of the "general population's access to higher education." [57] Particularly distressing is the trend of development as seen from the ratio of academically educated people, especially students, to practicing scientists. According to the report of an international Socialist study group, the Jews have the lowest ratio in the U.S.S.R., "indicating the rapidly dwindling Jewish participation in this field." [58]

Soviet leaders have candidly acknowledged that they set employment quotas for Jews. They also try to justify the practice. An interview published by the National Guardian quoted Minister of Culture Furtseva that the Soviet Government "found in some of its departments a heavy concentration of Jewish people, upward of 50 percent of the staff. Steps were taken to transfer them to other enterprises, giving them equally good positions, and without jeopardizing their rights." [59]

Job discrimination found to be increasing

When the Furtseva statement created unfavorable reaction abroad, the press chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry was obliged to "clarify" the matter. "She meant," his statement said, "that if at some time there had taken place changes in office personnel, these changes were dictated by the economic needs of the country and under no circumstances were aimed at any discrimination of persons of any nationality. Never at any time during the Soviet regime were there any quotas for Jews or persons of some other nationality, and there are none now." [60]

However, J. B. Salsberg, a former Canadian Communist leader, reported that in an interview he had had in August 1956 with Soviet leaders (including Khrushchev and Suslov),[61] a top Soviet official "corroborated the essence of Furtseva's statement."

"He tried terribly hard to prove to me with examples that the transfer or dismissal of Jewish employees in once-backward republics that now have 'their own' intelligentsia and professional people capable of occupying posts previously held by Jews or Russians has nothing to do with anti-Semitism."

Academician Konstantin Skriabin, in a speech before the party's central committee on agriculture, declared: "From my point of view, a scientist should not be evaluated by his passport but by his head, from the point of view of his ability and social usefulness." [62] His reference to the "passport" and its nationality identification was self-evident.

Yet whatever the extent of job quotas, an examination of the scattered data that is available reveals a heavy concentration of Jewish employment in a number of important fields and professions. According to one source, of Moscow's 13,000 physicians, 6,700—more than one out of three—are Jewish.[63] Another source states that 40 percent of the capital's 1,700 lawyers and half of those in Leningrad and Kharkov are Jewish.[64] Andre Blumel was told by Mme. Furtseva that one-third of the personnel in the film industry is Jewish Jews are also prominent in music and literature, in the library field, in history, philology and pedagogy (according to Furtseva, 10 percent of the student body of the Pedagogical Institute in Moscow is Jewish) and in the consumer goods and retail trade industry. A letter signed by five prominent Soviet Jews and publicized by the Soviet news agency Novosti listed Jews as comprising 14.7 percent of the U.S.S.R.'s physicians; 10.4 percent of its lawyers and judges; 8.5 percent of its writers and journalists; 7 percent of its actors, sculptors, musicians and other artists.[65]

There is a high proportion of Jews in the physical sciences. A Soviet statistical handbook (1960) reported 30,663 Jews among 310,000 Soviet scientists, or 9.8 percent. Five years earlier the ratio was even higher, 24,600 out of 223,000, or 11 percent. The proportion of Jews in the physical sciences is decreasing, although the absolute number is rising. The most recent figure is 36,173 Jewish scientists (about 9 percent).[66] An estimated 10 percent of the Academy of Sciences, the U.S.S.R.'s leading scientific body, is Jewish. About one-eighth of the 1964 Lenin Prize winners in science and technology have Jewish names.

Among Soviet nationalities, Jews rank third in the total number of professionals with a university education who are active in the national economy. There are about 300,000 Soviet Jews in the professions, and 427,000 who have either a university or a specialized secondary education. This means one out of five Soviet Jews is a professional or semi-professional worker, as against 5 percent for Russians and 4 percent for Ukrainians.

On the other hand, DeWitt finds that the proportion of non-Jewish nationalities in the professions is rising rapidly. It rose 15 percent during 1957–59. For the same period the Jewish proportion rose 4 percent. DeWitt attributes the difference to the quota system in university admissions. Its continuation, he says, will further reduce the percentage of Jews in professional employment.

There is some evidence that Soviet Jews are confronted with increasing difficulty in winning merit promotions to top industrial and administrative positions. This is particularly so in the non-Russian Republics where an educated and trained native element is rapidly emerging and Jews are being edged out of the promotion process. This was implied by Khrushchev in an interview with a French Socialist delegation in May 1956:

"At the outset of the revolution we had many Jews in the leadership of the party and the state. In due course, we created new cadres. Should the Jews want to occupy the foremost position in our Republics now, it would naturally be taken amiss by the indigenous inhabitants. The latter would not accept these pretensions at all well, especially since they do not regard themselves less intelligent or less capable than the Jews." [67]

In December 1962, Khrushchev repeated this theme at a meeting of Soviet artists, saying that if Jews occupied too many top positions it would tend to create anti-Semitism.

Since the forties there has been a drastic decline in the role of Jews in Soviet political life. One index of it is the changing composition in the two houses of the Supreme Soviet. In December 1937, there were 32 Jews among the 569 members of the Soviet of the Union; in January 1946, 5 out of 801; in March 1950, 2 of 678 members.

Jews have been eased out of Soviet political life

In 1937 there were 15 Jews among the 574 members of the Soviet of Nationalities; in March 1950, 3 of 633. In April 1958 only 3 of 1,364 members of both houses could be identified as Jews. Among the 1,443 members of the present Supreme Soviet 8 are Jews.

Jewish representation at the republic and local levels is even less than at the national level: [68]

	Total deputies	Jewish deputies	Percent of Jews
Russian Federal Republic	835	1	0.12
Ukraine	457	1	.22
Byelorussia	407	2	.45
Uzbekistan	444	2	.44
Kazakhstan	450	2	.44
Azerbaijan	325	1	.31
Lithuania	209	3	1.44
Moldavia	281	0	0
Latvia	200	0	0
Kirghizia	329	0	0
Tadzhikistan	300	1	.33
Armenia	300	0	0
Turkmenistan	282	1	.35
Estonia	125	0	0
Georgia	368	0	0

With the single exception of Lithuania, the percentage of Jews in the Supreme Soviet of each republic is substantially below its population ratio. This is especially true for the three Slavic republics where most Soviet Jews live. It is also significant that Moldavia and Latvia, each with a sizable Jewish minority, have no Jewish deputies.

The same trend is evident in local Soviets. In every republic except Byelorussia the proportion of Jews is less than 1 percent, and often only an infinitesimal fraction. In January 1961, Trud boasted that 7,500 Jews were deputies in various Soviets of the U.S.S.R.[69] It neglected to compare this with the total of 1,882,000 elected deputies, making the ratio of Jews in the Soviet political structure microscopic. Since the selection of candidates is a controlled affair dominated by the party's leadership, it would appear that Jews are regarded as being less reliable politically.

There has also been a great decline in the numbers of Jews holding leadership positions in the Soviet Communist Party. Among the 175 members of its newly elected Central Committee, only 1 has been specifically identified by Soviet authorities as a Jew. He is V. E. Dymshits, a Deputy Premier and Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of the National Economy. Dymshits is often held out as an example by Soviet propagandists that there is no anti-Jewish discrimination in Soviet politics.

Prof. John Armstrong of the University of Wisconsin, in a study of the nationality composition of the Ukraine Communist Party, found that the proportion of Jews among the delegates to the Party Congress had declined from 4.1 percent in 1940 to 2.6 percent in 1956.[70] "It would seem that Jews were deliberately restricted to a lower proportion of the higher and more conspicuous levels of party leadership," Professor Armstrong declared. He calculated that 8 percent of the Ukrainian Party membership is Jewish. This is a fairly high proportion since Jews are only 2 percent of the Ukrainian population. It is in the leadership cadre of the party, however, that the number and proportion of Jews have shrunk considerably.

There are no available statistics on the number of Jews in the All-Union Communist Party but there is no ban against Jews joining the party.

Maurice Hindus has reported that Jews "are definitely barred from careers in diplomacy, the party, the armed forces, in the

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[57] Nicholas DeWitt, "The Status of Jews in Soviet Education," published 1964 by the American Jewish Congress. DeWitt places particular emphasis on the high degree of urbanization among Jews (over 95 percent). Since most university students come from urban areas the discrimination against Jews is apparent.

[58] April 1964.

[59] June 1956.

[60] September 1956.

[61] In a series that ran in a Canadian Yiddish weekly Vochenblatt and in Morgen Freiheit, October-December 1956.

[62] March 1962.

[63] Sophia Frey in Morgen Freiheit, Apr. 7, 1960.

[64] Andre Blumel in a Paris interview, 1960.

[65] April 1962.

[66] Novosti Press Agency, 1963.

[67] Réalités (Paris), May 1957.

[68] Jews in Eastern Europe (London), December 1962.

[69] Novosti Press Agency in 1963 gave the figure as 7,623.

[70] J. Armstrong, "The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite: A Case Study of the Ukrainian Apparatus," 1959.

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trade union, the state administration and other politically and militarily sensitive *areas*." [71] Data on this—or on the view that Jews might be regarded as security risks—are sketchy and fragmentary.

There are few Jews today in the Soviet diplomatic corps. This is in sharp contrast to the twenties and thirties. An examination of a list of 475 top Soviet officials serving in the Foreign Ministry and in each of its embassies abroad shows but 5 or 6 who appear to have Jewish names. One is a deputy chief of a functional division in Moscow, another an ambassador, a third a minister-counselor. The others hold positions of lesser status. Some observers have also noted that there is a relatively small number of Jews in foreign trade. Of 94 names of top officials in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, only 1 or 2 appear to be Jewish.

Information on the Jewish composition of the armed forces is contradictory. Gen. David Dragunsky, himself a Jew, spoke of "hundreds of Jewish generals and admirals in the Soviet Union." He mentioned three: the supreme commander in the Far East, the commander of the military academy, and the commander of the defense force on the southern border.[72] There are reports of a number of Jewish regular army officers on active service (mostly in ranks below that of general). But in almost every case it is believed their commissions either predated the war or were granted in the early years of the war. Few, if any, have been appointed in recent years. The same is true for the Soviet air force.

IV. POPULAR ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

The discriminatory patterns in Soviet life do not operate in a vacuum. They reflect popular attitudes toward Jews. The patterns are responsive to and reinforced by the attitudes; the attitudes in turn are necessarily affected by the patterns.

Studies show deep roots of anti-Semitic feeling

Soviet leadership is reluctant to admit publicly that popular anti-Semitism is common anywhere in the U.S.S.R. At times it will say so in private conversations with foreigners.[73] But when it speaks to the Soviet public, either directly or indirectly, it vehemently denies there is any significant amount of anti-Semitic sentiment.

Objective observers of Soviet life, including many who are sympathetically disposed to much of the regime's aims, disagree. They find anti-Semitic stereotyping to be commonplace, although no one really knows how extensive and deep the hostile feelings are. Soviet sociologists have refused to conduct scientific investigations of it.[74] But interviews of Soviet refugees conducted in 1950–51 by Harvard University shed some light.[75] While the sample was far from adequate, it nonetheless suggested that Jews in the Soviet Union are often depicted on the one hand as intelligent or intellectual, on the other as moneyminded, clannish, aggressive, calculating, and disinclined to engage in physical labor.

A study among Ukrainian refugees revealed extensive prejudice against Jews. The interviewer found that 47 percent of the least educated, 51 percent of the moderately educated, and 36 percent of the well-educated Ukrainian respondents favored excluding Jews from social contacts. The middle-educated Ukrainian, the interviewer concluded, was "particularly anti-Semitic both in his perception of relations between his own national group and Jews, and in expressions of social exclusion he desired." [76]

The persistence of widespread anti-Jewish sterotyping was noted by a friendly observer, Sally Belfrage:

"I could almost never hear a Jew described except with the apologetic preface, He's a Jew, but * * * (He's very nice, he's very intelligent.)' And frequently anti-Semitic jokes, Rabinovich this, Rabinovich that (always Rabinovich). Some Russians spend a great deal of their verbal energy on attacking anything and everything Jewish." [77]

Maurice Hindus and Harrison Salisbury, of the New York Times, have detailed similar instances of anti-Semitism. And as an indication that stereotyping can be found on the highest levels of government, J. B. Salsberg quoted Khrushchev:

"After the liberation of Czernowitz the streets were dirty. When the Jews were asked why the streets were not being cleaned, they replied that the non-Jewish segment of the population which used to do this work, had fled the city. Of the thousands of Soviet citizens who have toured abroad only three failed to return. All of them were Jews. Wherever a Jew settles, the first thing he does is build a synagogue."

Salsberg also quoted Khrushchev as agreeing with Stalin that the Crimea, which had been depopulated at the end of World War II, "should not be turned into a Jewish colonization center because in case of war it would be turned into a base for attacking the U.S.S.R."

Khrushchev on another occasion had these comments about the failure of Jewish colonization in Birobidjan:

"In all ages, the Jews have preferred the artisan trades; they are tailors; they work in glass or precious stones; they are merchants, pharmacists, cabinetmakers. But if you take the building trades or metallurgy, you can't find a single Jew to my knowledge.

"They don't like collective work, group discipline, they have always preferred to be dispersed. They are individualist * * * a second characteristic: the Jews are essentially intellectuals. They never consider themselves sufficiently educated. As soon as they can manage it, they want to attend the university." [78]

The New York Yiddish Communist daily Freiheit accused Khrushchev of giving a false picture of Jewish attitudes toward collective labor, saying that prior to the war "hundreds of thousands of Jews were settled on the land. Three national Jewish agricultural regions were created in the Ukraine. Jews were drawn into heavy industry. The Jewish masses revealed this ability for organization and collective effort in constructing, at great sacrifice, the trade union movement in America. * * * The Jewish laborer and common man showed his ability for collective work in the construction effort in Israel, as Khrushchev concedes in the same interview." [79]

Khrushchev's reference to the absence of Jews in metallurgy did not jibe with the observation of a group of Communists who were visiting Moscow at that time. They found that among 12,000 workers in a Moscow ball-bearing plant, 18 percent were Jews.[80] Harrison Salisbury, discussing the Soviet leader's frequent statements on Jewish questions, found that Khrushchev "almost invariably has displayed traces, at least, of the anti-Semitic prejudices common to the borderlands of the Ukraine where he grew up." [81]

Little is done in Soviet education to counteract anti-Semitic stereotypes. Soviet history textbooks published in 1958 and 1960 for preuniversity grade levels tell nothing of Soviet Jewry, its contributions to Soviet culture or its role in Soviet life. This is so even in sections of the volumes which deal with the culture of minority nationalities in the U.S.S.R.

Jews cast as villains in recent economic trials

A widely distributed book, "The Achievements of Soviet Regime in 40 Years in Figures," published in 1957 on the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, makes no reference to Jews or Jewish contributions in its 358 pages of statistics and tables on virtually every aspect of Soviet life. Newspaper references to the nationality of Jews who make distinguished contributions to the arts, sciences and technology are rare.

In 1954 the Soviet Government published "The National Traditions of the People of the Soviet Union," a statistical breakdown by nationality of World War II "Heroes of the Soviet Union"—the nation's highest award for bravery. The booklet makes no reference to Jewish winners, even though more than 100 were so honored.[82]

Satirical attacks on Judaism and on persons with Jewish-sounding names accused of anti-social behavior crop up frequently in the Soviet provincial press. Synagogue leaders, in particular, are depicted as persons engaged in unholy money dealings. This has a special propaganda impact since, in the Soviet cultural pattern, concern for one's personal affluence is regarded as the worst form of antisocial behavior. The satirical articles appear largely in areas where anti-Semitic sentiment is deep rooted. A 1960 study disclosed 77 such feuilletons in 15 major provincial papers.[83]

The new program of the Communist Party, in dealing with "Communist morality," calls for "an uncompromising attitude toward injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism, and moneygrubbing." In the current Soviet campaign against economic crimes, especially

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[71] Hindus, "House Without a Roof." In the areas mentioned by Hindus there is also evidence that exceptions occur. Pragmatic considerations in the selection of personnel often appear to be the dominant factor.

[72] Jewish Chronicle (London), Dec. 1, 1961.

[73] Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan told a 1956 delegation of French Socialists that the "remainders" of anti-Semitism persist because "in so short a time it has been difficult for us to eliminate prejudice." Khrushchev told the same group that the anti-Semitic sentiments are "remnants of a reactionary past."

[74] A visiting Western scholar, Professor Lewis Feuer of the University of California, learned this from Soviet sociologists and philosophers while on an exchange tour to the U.S.S.R.

[75] Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System. Its essential findings were published in "How the Soviet System Works" by Raymond Bauer, Alex Inkeles and Clyde Kluckhohn, Harvard University Press, 1956. The sample was structured to represent as broad a cross-section of the Soviet European population as was possible under the given circumstances of availability of refugees, three-fourths of whom had migrated during the war, the others during 1946–50.

[76] Unpublished study by Sylvia Gilliam of the Harvard Project.

[77] "A Room in Moscow" (London), 1958.

[78] Le Figaro (Paris), Apr. 9, 1958.

[79] Morgen Freiheit, Apr. 13, 1958.

[80] Nai Presse (Paris).

[81] The New York Times, Feb. 8, 1962. At times, however, Khrushchev has strongly condemned anti-Semitism as a product of czarism or capitalism. Twice during the past year, he associated himself with others in publicly lauding two prominent Soviet Jews, friends of his who had died.

[82] Trud in January 1961 finally acknowledged that there were more than 100 Jewish award winners. A recent work published in Israel reports that 67,000 Jews in the Red Army were cited for meritorious performance, bravery, or heroism during World War II. Jews ranked fourth among nationalities in award winners. The report also notes that of 500,000 Jews in the Red Army, 200,000 were killed in action.

[83] One of every three feuilletons published by a Latvian paper satirized Jews.

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black marketeering and currency speculation, the Jew is identified in press accounts as the principal villain. This has been evident in newspaper stories of the arrest and trial of Jews in Leningrad, Vilna, Tbilisi in Georgia and elsewhere.

An analysis of news reports up to the early months of 1963 shows that in 63 trials in 39 cities, 83 of 141 persons sentenced to death—almost 60 percent—were Jews.[84] In a lengthy account of the Vilna trial, Trud published a description of currency speculators quarreling over the spoils, then seeking out the local rabbi to settle the dispute. "The rabbi not only knew of the dark affairs his parishioners were involved in, but was their arbiter as well," the Trud story took pains to say.[85] The Georgian newspaper Zaria Vostoka, reporting a Tbilisi trial, said that "speculation went on full blast in the Lord's Temple," and that the accused even used the inside cover "of the religious book, the Torah" as a hiding place for foreign currency.[86] Leningradskaia Pravda pointed up the Jewish background of an alleged offender this way:

"Having scraped together a fortune, he dreamed of escaping abroad. It made no difference where: to his brother in England, to another brother in England, to another brother in Germany or his sister in Israel." [87]

In a controlled press whose stated objective is to educate the public, these references, as Harrison Salisbury has reported, "blur the lines and smear the Jews by confusing them with criminal and antisocial elements in the population." [88]

To the extent that negative stereotypes of the Jew persist and are even tolerated in high quarters, a permissive atmosphere is created in which the Soviet bureaucrat who practices discrimination is strengthened in his motivations to do so. The permissiveness also tends to crystallize sentiment of the Jew as a security risk. This, in turn, leads to administrative measures that forcibly sever contacts between Soviet Jews and their coreligionists abroad, hastening the assimilatory process of Soviet Jewry.

Negative stereotyping has led to anti-Jewish rioting

The "signs of racial overtones" in the trials of economic offenders—as the Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists described the preponderance of Jews among those executed—disturbed philosopher Bertrand Russell. He wrote to Khrushchev that he was "deeply perturbed at the death sentences passed on Jews in the Soviet Union and the official encouragement of anti-Semitism which apparently takes place." [89] Khrushchev replied that to ascribe anti-Semitism to the trials was a "profound delusion" since individuals of other nationalities also had been sentenced. "Which nation has more or fewer criminals of any kind at one time or another is a social question not a national question," Khrushchev declared, adding that the nature of the Soviet state "precludes" the possibility of anti-Semitism.[90]

Izvestia carried four letters out of "several hundred reactions" which endorsed the Soviet Premier's rebuff of the distinguished British philosopher.[91] But Lord Russell found neither the Premier's explanation nor the arguments of the letter writers very comforting. "I consider the fact that 60 percent of those executed were Jews to be greatly disturbing," he wrote to the editors of Izvestia. "I fervently hope that nothing will take place which obliges us to believe the Jews are receiving unjust treatment in contradiction to the law." [92] Izvestia neither printed the letter nor responded to it.

This major Soviet organ offered a different kind of response on October 20, 1963. One of its chief editors, Iu. Feofanov, on that day wrote a long article, "No Mercy for Thieves," which described at length the alleged crimes of two Jews named Shakerman and Roifman. Feofanov deliberately noted that he was mentioning the "Jewish family names" of the individuals involved "because we pay no attention to the malicious slander * * * in the Western press." He called for a "show trial." The possible repercussions of a show trial upon popular attitudes toward Jews aroused worldwide concern and protests. Ultimately the U.S.S.R. backed away from this proposal.[93]

Official toleration of negative stereotyping of the Jew may well have played a role in stimulating, or at least not discouraging, a number of outbreaks against Jews and Jewish institutions in the past few years. These are some of the incidents reported in the Western (but not Soviet) press:

October 4–5, 1959: During Rosh Hashana, hundreds of leaflets were distributed and posted on buildings in Malakhovka, a small Moscow suburb, by a "Beat the Jews Committee." The leaflets said in part:

"Throw the Jews out of commerce where they damage socialist property and the people's wealth. They are an obstacle to the development of commerce. They cause much damage to the State and to the working people, and amass profits for themselves."

Malakhovka's synagogue and the cottage of the caretaker of the nearby Jewish cemetery were set afire. The caretaker's wife was found dead from strangulation.[94]

August 1960: The party newspaper in Buinaksk, Daghestan, published a story that Jews mix Moslem blood with water to drink for ritual purposes. This was the old blood libel with a new twist—Moslem instead of Christian blood. Two days later the newspaper repudiated the article as a "political error."

September 1961: Another blood libel rumor erupted into anti-Jewish riots in the town of Margalen, Uzbekistan. The rumor: A Jewish woman had kidnapped and slain a 2-year-old Moslem boy for "ritual reasons." The militia ransacked her home and arrested her 90-year-old father. Mob fury broke out in the streets against Jews. Later, the local newspaper reported that a Uzbek woman had kidnapped the boy. (He had been returned unharmed.) Jews who had been assaulted vainly brought suit against the mob leader. The court found that the prosecutor had ignored the damaging role of the militia and had minimized the extent of destruction of Jewish homes, and that the searches and arrests of Jews were illegal. It directed the prosecutor to correct his file of evidence for submission at another trial.[95]

Spring 1962: A Jewish dentist in the town of Tskhaltubo, Georgia, was accused of drawing blood from the face and neck of a Georgian boy who came to play with his son, then selling the blood to the synagogue in Kutaisi to be used in the baking of matzo. The assistant public prosecutor, interrogating the dentist, tortured him and sent him to jail in Kutaisi. The dentist was freed and the proceedings halted only after the case reached higher judicial authorities in central Georgia. These authorities advised the dentist, for his own safety, to leave his native Georgia and take up temporary residence in Moscow.

May 19, 1962: A blood libel rumor in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, led to assaults on Jews. A 70-year-old Jewish woman, accused of taking blood from the ear of a Moslem girl for use in the Passover ritual, was arrested by the local prosecutor and detained for 3 weeks, during which time her home was ransacked by police. Again, there were mob assaults against Jews. The blood libel, it was later shown, had originated with a minor mishap in the woman's store: the girl had fallen and suffered a slight cut on her ear. The mob leaders, as well as the marauding local police, went unpunished.[96]

May 1962: Arsonists set fire to a synagogue in Tskhakaya, Georgia. Scrolls of the Law, prayer books and prayer shawls were badly burned.

June 1962: A bomb exploded in front of the synagogue in Kutaisi, Georgia. Two other bombs were found inside the building.

Rosh Hashana 1962: During the High Holy Day services, and 3 weeks later during Simhat Torah ("Rejoicing of the Law"), bricks were hurled into the windows of the Great Synagogue of Moscow. A jagged 5-pound brick crashing through the glass, showered splinters over many of the 6,000 Jews who sang and danced during the Simhat Torah service. It narrowly missed hitting the Israel Ambassador and a New York Herald-Tribune Reporter. "Unfortunately," said the Chief Rabbi, "we still have evidence of anti-Semitism." [97]

March 1963: Seven weeks before Passover a rumor spread through the city of Vilna, Lithuania, that a 6-year-old girl had been kidnapped and murdered by Jews to obtain "Christian blood." There were reports of Jewish children being persecuted by schoolmates and of hooligan attacks upon Jews. The child's body was later found. It was learned that she had been murdered by a Lithuanian student who had committed suicide.

The tragedy of these and other episodes, bad as they are, is perhaps less in their occurrence than in the failure of Soviet authorities to expose publicly their fraudulent origins.

Kremlin view: There is no anti-Semitism in U.S.S.R.

Instead the authorities constantly repeat the refrain that anti-Semitism does not and cannot exist in the U.S.S.R. When Khrushchev can deny that even Stalin's notorious Doctor's Plot was anti-Semitic—as he clearly implied in his letter to Lord Russell—then it is hardly surprising that officials will refuse to take public cognizance of lesser anti-Semitic outbursts. To still any clamor for dealing with internal anti-Semitism the regime has in recent months turned to condemnation of anti-Semitism in the West—

[84] Statistical data indicated that, as of October 1963, of those sentenced to die for economic crimes in the Ukraine 90 percent were Jews; in Moldavia, 83 percent; in the RSFSR, 64 percent.

[85] Jan. 16, 1962.

[86] Nov. 30, 1961.

[87] Sept. 16, 1961.

[88] The New York Times, Feb. 8, 1962.

[89] Feb. 2, 1963.

[90] Khrushchev replied Feb. 21, 1963. The exchange of correspondence with Russell was published in the Soviet press on February 28.

[91] Mar. 24, 1963.

[92] Apr. 6, 1963.

[93] In the same way the Soviet Union retreated from a decision to execute an alleged criminal identified as a "rabbi" in "Sovetskaia Rossiia," Aug. 30, 1963. Novosti on Jan. 14, 1964, reported that the death sentence had been commuted to 15 years in imprisonment.

[94] No mention of the incident was made in the Soviet press. Blumel, after a visit to the Soviet Union in 1961, said he been privately informed that the culprits had been apprehended and convicted.

[95] Since then (November 1961) there has been no report of a second trial.

[96] When the story was reported in the West, the Soviet Foreign Ministery's press department first called it a "complete invention." A lengthier denial was later issued by Novosti. Both statements, the Manchester Guardian noted, "studiously avoid any mention of the relevant details and therefore add to the plausibility of the reports."

[97] The New York Times, Oct. 22, 1962.

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in the United States, West Germany, Argentina.

In one recent anti-Semitic incident, however, Soviet authorities did take at least a partially positive step, although not until world clamor for action (including vociferous outcries from foreign Communist Parties) had become too insistent to be rebuffed.

The incident was the publication last October in Kiev of an anti-Semitic book, "Judaism Without Embellishment," written by T. Kichko. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was the publisher. The work carried vicious caricatures of Jews, reminiscent of Julius Streicher's "Der Stuermer."

The book and its contents become known in the West last March. The hue and cry which arose took on crescendo-like proportions, and the major Communist Parties in the West demanded an explanation. Finally, after some halfhearted Soviet statements failed to still the outburst, the Ideological Commission of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on April 4 released a statement condemning the book as contradicting "the party's Leninist policy on religious and nationality questions." The embarrassed commission acknowledged that the book "may be interpreted in the spirit of anti-Semitism." Khrushchev's son-in-law, Alexei Adjubei, also announced that all copies had been removed from the bookstalls.

Ironically, the Pravda story on the commission statement also praised a book, "Catechism Without Embellishment," which carries many of the same types of negative stereotypic images about Jews. Such approval, plus the continued publication of literature that stigmatizes Judaism in vulgar tones of bigotry, indicate that the party has yet to reverse its position.

There are vigorous voices among Soviet intellectuals eager to sensitize the public to the evils of anti-Semitism. The distinguished Soviet writer K. Paustovsky pilloried the Stalinist bureaucrats "who quite openly carry on anti-Semitic talk of a kind worthy of pogrom-makers." [98] Yevtushenko, in his autobiography,[99] relates how he came to loathe the anti-Semitism of leading literary bureaucrats. Referring to a prize-winning Stalinist poet, he wrote:

"Unfortunately it was people such as this who sometimes made 'literary policy,' infecting it with evil-smelling things of all sorts, including anti-Semitism. To me, both as a Russian and as a man to whom Lenin's teaching is dearer than anything in the world, anti-Semitism has always been doubly repulsive."

Soviet intellectuals are growing voice of reason

For Yevtushenko, communism and anti-Semitism are "mutually exclusive" and he has raised his voice to that end. The powerful "Babi Yar" was one example. The last lines of the poem express an attitude shared by many Soviet intellectuals:

"Let the 'Internationale' ring out
When the last anti-Semite on earth is buried.
There is no Jewish blood in mine,
But I am hated by every anti-Semite as a Jew
And for this reason,
I am a true Russian."

Yevtushenko's autobiography also tells of public reaction to his first reading of "Babi Yar." "When I finished," the poet wrote, "there was dead silence. I kept creasing the paper in my hand, afraid to look up. When I did, the entire audience was on its feet, suddenly the applause broke out and went on for about 10 minutes. People came up on the stage and hugged me. My eyes were full of tears." [100]

Yevtushenko received about 20,000 letters when the poem was published. Only 30 or 40 attacked him. This encouraging fact suggests that a government-sponsored program aimed at combating anti-Semitism and restoring the religious and cultural rights of Jews would have substantial support.

[98] In a 1956 speech to the Moscow Writers Union.

[99] Published in the French newspaper L'Express.

[100] The poem and three others have been set to music by Shostakovich as part of his 13th symphony. In response to official pressures, Yevtushenko (and Shostakovich) agreed to add a line to the poem which reads that Russians and Ukrainians had also died at Babi Yar.

"STAG" BALLENTINE

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on Monday, July 20, the people of North Carolina were deeply saddened to learn of the death of one of their most dedicated public servants: L. Y. Ballentine.

"Stag" Ballentine served the State of North Carolina as a county commissioner, as a State senator, as Lieutenant Governor, and from 1948 until his death as commissioner of agriculture. During his 16 years as commissioner, farm life in North Carolina experienced profound changes.

Throughout this period "Stag" Ballentine labored to make the State's transition to mechanized farms and a more industrialized economy smooth and responsible.

"Stag" Ballentine's unselfish devotion to his State's welfare set a standard worthy of emulation by all public servants.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the following articles and editorials concerning my friend's passing.

There being no objection, the articles and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News, July 22, 1964]

A PUBLIC SERVANT PASSES

North Carolina Commissioner of Agriculture L. Y. (Stag) Ballentine, who died of a heart attack at White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., Sunday night, was a faithful public official who served his State long and well.

Commissioner Ballentine was not only a capable but a personable individual. To know him was to like him, and that in large degree explains the multitude of friends whom he had, his success in dealing with people and his invulnerability when election time rolled around.

His long period of office included Wake County commissioner, member of the State senate for 6 years, a term as Lieutenant Governor and since 1948 occupancy of the high position which he held when death overtook him.

During Commissioner Ballentine's tenure, North Carolina agriculture has known great change. With cotton gone West and tobacco in jeopardy, there has been growing emphasis upon cattle, food crops and other farm products which lend diversification, find ready markets and strengthen a weakened economy. North Carolina, as a small family farm State, has felt the pressure of change. During all the change of Commissioner Ballentine gave a calm, quiet but effective leadership in facing up to inescapable problems and holding dislocation to a minimum in what continued to be a major factor of the State's economy.

A product of the farm himself, he knew his State and its people and was particularly well versed in the problems which came before him and his department. Farmers are notoriously independent, but "Stag" Ballentine managed to get a surprisingly large degree of cooperation out of them in tackling problems which were not merely their own but statewide.

State Treasurer Edwin Gill, longtime colleague of Commissioner Ballentine on the Raleigh scene, perhaps gave the best summation of his friend and associate when he cataloged him "a popular and distinguished public servant who gave everything that he had to the public service."

[From the Winston-Salem (N.C.) Journal, July 21, 1964]

"STAG" BALLENTINE

L. Y. (Stag) Ballentine, like his predecessor, W. Kerr Scott, worked persistently and hard to make the North Carolina Department of Agriculture effective in meeting the needs of the State farm economy.

There were those who suspected that the personable Mr. Ballentine had the ambition to follow in Kerr Scott's footsteps from the office of agriculture commissioner to the Governor's mansion and possibly on to the U.S. Senate. If he held that ambition, political developments in the State never gave him the opportunity to realize it. But during the 16 years of his tenure as head of the agriculture department he won wide recognition among farm leaders by his efforts to make his agency a real force in promoting better production, processing and marketing practices among the farmers of North Carolina.

Mr. Ballentine constantly emphasized the importance of better marketing outlets for farmers and the need for better packaging and more processing plants for farm products. Under him the department also vied with the extension service in advancing research and experimentation in the effort to develop better types of tobacco and other farm products. As a dairyman and farmer as well as business man, Stag Ballentine had firsthand knowledge of the problems facing the growers of his State and some very definite, progressive ideas on how these problems could be solved.

But the interest of farmers was not Stag Ballentine's sole object of concern. He performed distinguished service earlier in his career as a member of the Wake County Board of Commissioners, as a State senator, as chairman of the State board of education, and as a Lieutenant Governor.

One of the finest tributes paid to him by his associates in State government was that of Edwin Gill, State treasurer, who said of him that he "gave everything he had to the public service." The death of such a public servant leaves the State much poorer.

[From the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer]

"STAG" BALLENTINE

North Carolina lost a man who made a creative career in public service when Commissioner of Agriculture L. Y. Ballentine, thought to be on his way to recovery, died in West Virginia Sunday night. His career in public service was made more effective because he kept his contact as a farmer with the good earth of his State all his days.

Certainly there was none of the old bucolic and generally burlesqued picture of the farmer about Stag Ballentine. His dress and his manner were those of city men. He moved in the company of urbane politicians, agricultural scientists, economists as one of them. Still all his life, so much of which he spent in the capital, he remained a dairy farmer in the county. Sometimes he seemed the very image of that new figure, the man

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